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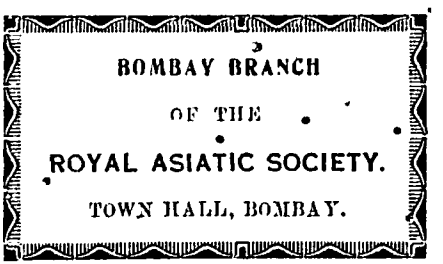


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# LIVES

OF THE

# SOVEREIGNS OF RUSSIA.

BY GEORGE FOWLER, ESQ.,

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# LIVES

OF THE

# SOVEREIGNS OF RUSSIA.

## CHAPTER I.

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No sooner had Peter the Great thrown off his "mortal coil," and even whilst in the agonies of death, than several parties were caballing to dispose of the Crown of Russia; and although it was understood that the late Tzar had expressed a desire that Catherine should succeed to the imperial dignity, yet it was not formally bequeathed to her by will. She had been crowned publicly at Moscow, when Peter himself placed the diadem on her head as a proof of his affection, and for the great services which she had rendered to her country, particularly by her conduct at the Pruth in the Turkish war, which might be almost said to have saved the Russian empire from destruction. For this service, Peter instituted the order of St. Catherine, saying, "Catherine did not act like a woman, but like a man;" and it was supposed that this was the leading cause of her elevation to the throne, but the heir to it was Peter Alexovitz, the son of Alexis, and grandson of Peter the Great.

Even before the Tzar's decease there were two parties in the state, the one for supporting the ancient regime, in which but two classes existed, the masters and the slaves; these determined to place the young Peter on the throne—to arrest Catherine, and send her to a convent—and to banish Menzikoff to Siberia; saying that it was disgraceful to the dignity of the empire, which was now become the largest in Europe, that its destinies should be committed to the hands of two such obscure individuals.

The moment that the dissolution of the late Sovereign was announced, Bassevitz, Catherine's partisan, repaired in person to the Empress, to whom she said, "My grief and consternation render me incapable of acting myself; do you and Prince Menzikoff consult together, and I will embrace the measures which you shall approve in my name."

Bassevitz finding the Prince asleep, awoke him, and informed him of the pressing danger which threatened the Empress and her party, and that no time remained for long deliberation. Menzikoff instantly seized the treasury and the fortress, gained the officers of the guards by bribes and promises, and also a few of the nobility, with the principal clergy. These partisans being convened in the palace, Catherine made her appearance, and claimed the throne in right of her coronation at Moscow. She exposed the ill effects of a minority, and promised that, so far from depriving the Grand Duke of the Crown, she would receive it only as a sacred deposit, to be restored to him when she should be united in another world to an adored husband who had just departed from this life. The pathetic manner with which she uttered this sentence, and the tears with which it was accom-

panied, added to the previous distribution of large sums of money amongst the troops and others, produced the desired effect, and every means were employed to ensure her succession to the throne.

The event of the Emperor's death being now made known to the Senate, the generals, the principal nobility, and the clergy, hastened to the palace to proclaim the new Sovereign. The adherents of the Grand Duke, Peter, were numerous, and they seemed likely to prevail; but, at this juncture, Bassevitz whispered to one of the opposite party, "The Empress is mistress of the treasure and of the fortress; she has gained over the guards and the Synod, and many of the chief nobility; she has more followers than you imagine: advise, therefore, your friends to make no objection, as they value their heads."

This information being rapidly circulated, Bassevitz gave the appointed signal, and two regiments of the guards that had been bribed over to declare for Catherine, and had already surrounded the palace, beat to arms. "Who has dared," exclaimed Prince Repuin, the Commander-in-Chief, "to order out the troops without my knowledge?" "I," replied General Butterlin, "without pretending to dispute your authority, in obedience to the commands of my most gracious mistress." This short reply was followed by a dead silence.

In this moment of suspense, Menzikoff entered, preceding Catherine, who was supported by the Duke of Holstein. She attempted to speak, but was prevented by sighs and tears from giving utterance to her words. At length, recovering herself, "I came," she said, "notwithstanding the grief which overwhelms me, to assure you that, in submission to the will of my departed hus-

band, whose memory will be ever dear to me, I am ready to devote my days to the painful occupation of government, until Providence shall summon me to follow him." Then, after a short pause, she artfully added, "If the Grand Duke will profit by my instructions, perhaps I shall have the consolation, during my wretched widowhood, of forming for you an Emperor worthy of the blood and the name of him whom we have now irretrievably lost." At this crisis, Menzikoff replied, "At a moment of such importance to the good of the Empire, and which requires the most mature deliberation, your Majesty will permit us to confer without restraint, that the whole affair may be transacted without reproach, as well in the opinion of the present age, as in that of posterity." "Acting as I do," said Catherine, "more for the public good than for my own advantage, I am not afraid to submit all my concerns to the judgment of such an enlightened assembly; you have not only my permission to confer with freedom, but I lay my commands upon you all to confer deliberately upon this important subject, and I promise to adopt whatever may be the result of your decisions." At the conclusion of these words, the assembly retired into another apartment, and the doors were locked.

Although it had been previously settled by Menzikoff and his party, that Catherine should be Empress, still they strove to intimidate the assembly by surrounding the palace with guards, with their drums beating and colours flying; yet they deliberated a long time before they could come to any decision; nor could they be persuaded that Peter had named Catherine to be his successor. To elicit, as far as possible, what were the intentions of the late Emperor on the subject, Menzikoff

demanded of his secretary whether his master had left any written will of his intentions, to which he replied, that "A little before his last journey to Moscow he had destroyed a will; that he had frequently expressed his design of making another, but had always been prevented by the reflection, that if he thought his people, whom he had rescued from a state of barbarism to a high degree of power and glory, could be ungrateful, he would not expose his final intentions to the insult of a refusal; and that, if they recollected what they owed to his labours, they would regulate their conduct by his intentions, which he had shown with more solemnity than could be manifested by any writing."

This indefinite sort of testimony led to an altercation amongst the assembly, some members of whom had the courage to oppose the accession of Catherine; but the Bishop of Plescoff interfered, reminding them that, by the oath taken in 1722, they were bound to acknowledge the successor appointed by Peter, which was now shown by his Secretary to be in favour of the accession of Catherine. The opposite party denied that these sentiments were so clear as the Secretary chose to insinuate; they insisted upon it, that the late Monarch had failed to nominate his heir, and that the elevation of the new Sovereign should revert to the state. But the Archbishop replied, that the evening before the coronation of the Empress at Moscow, Peter had declared at the house of an English merchant, that he should place the Crown upon her head with no other view than to leave her mistress of the Empire after his decease.

Menzikoff cried out, "Then what need have we for a testament? a refusal to conform to the inclina-

tion of our great Sovereign thus authenticated, would be both unjust and criminal. 'Long live the Empress!'" which the greater part of the assembly immediately repeated, and Menzikoff went to salute Catherine by the title of "Empress of all the Russias." His example was followed by the whole assembly. The next day, Catherine presented herself at her window to the guards, who all shouted, "Long live Catherine!" whilst Menzikoff liberally scattered money amongst them. Thus was elected to the throne of Russia a German peasant; and it was then said, that a journeyman pastry-cook had proclaimed a servant-maid Empress of all the Russias. Of Catherine's further history we learn, that she was born in 1669, of poor parents, at Reinghen, a small village in Livonia: her parents, dying when she was very young, left her in great poverty and misery, from which she was rescued by the parish clerk of Marienburgh, as before related. Of her previous history little is known; but it is said that a person, who assumed to be her brother, appeared suddenly at St. Petersburgh, of whom she had no previous knowledge. He was accompanied by his wife, two boys, and one girl. Certain it is that the Empress so far acknowledged them, that she conferred upon this person the title of Count Stannevsky, and provided for his family; the girl was married to a court favourite of the name of Sapiska. Catherine was in person of a middle size, and in her youth delicate and well formed, but as she advanced in years she inclined to corpulency; she had a fine complexion, dark eyes, and light hair, which she was accustomed to dye black. On her first rise, the coarseness of her hands proved that she had been accustomed to hard labour, but they gradually grew whiter and whiter.

Gordon represents her as "a pretty looking woman, of good sense, but not with that sublimity of wit nor quickness of imagination which some people have believed. The great reason why the Tzar was so fond of her, was her exceeding good temper. She was never peevish nor out of humour, obliging and civil to all, never forgetful of her former condition, and withal mighty graceful." That she never forgot her early history was proved when a person called Womb presented himself before her, who had been tutor to Gluck's children at the time Catherine was a domestic in the clergyman's family. This was after her marriage with the Tzar had been publicly solemnized; she immediately recollected him, and addressed him with great complacency—"What, thou good man, art thou still alive? I will provide for thee," and she accordingly settled upon him a pension. She was no less attentive to the family of her immediate benefactor, Gluck; she pensioned his widow, made his son a page, portioned the two eldest daughters, and advanced the youngest to be one of her maids of honour.

Catherine had, in some measure, the government of all Peter's passions, whose temporary gusts sometimes amounted almost to madness. She was the only one capable of soothing him; her presence had such an effect upon him, that the first sound of her voice would compose his mind; a word from her could disarm him, and Munich used to say of her, "She is the mediator between the Sovereign and his subjects." She seems to have inspired Peter with that humanity which nature had denied him, and she alone had influence with him to save the lives of criminals; and it is said that, when he determined executions should take place, he took advantage of her absence for carrying them into effect.

She had great self-possession, prudence, and firmness of purpose: on this account, she had been the constant companion of the Tzar in his military expeditions; it has been shown how essentially she served him in his campaign against the Turks in 1711. Catherine was duly proclaimed Empress and Autocratrix of all the Russias; and the most perfect obedience was manifested by her subjects to their new sovereign, by whom she allowed her hand to be kissed, even in the chamber containing the remains of her late husband. She gained much popularity by the imposing spectacle of attending for forty successive days the tomb of the great Peter, and of bathing the body with her tears just as it was being lowered into the vault, liberally distributing at the same time, amongst the people, vatki (the national liquor) and money.

The elevation of Catherine to the imperial dignity was well received by the whole country; she had endeared herself to the army by frequent participation in their toils—she had rendered distinguished services to the empire, for which she was crowned at the special desire of the Emperor; hence they inferred that he wished her to inherit the throne after him, and her affectionate attentions to him, particularly in his last illness, had endeared her to the people, so that there were many circumstances favourable to her popularity, and the new reign seemed to open most auspiciously for the Russian empire, of which Catherine derived the glory, whilst the real power was vested in Menzikoff. The funeral ceremonies of the late Sovereign were soon succeeded by the nuptials of the Princess Anne with the Duke of Holstein, which were celebrated with all the pomp of the Russian court, into which many of the re-

finements and usages of other European courts were slowly introduced, showing a struggle between civilization and barbarism, but in which no great advance had been made, as will appear by a Ukase being issued regulating the public assemblies for society, similar to that issued by Peter the Great, but to which her Imperial Majesty added the following important clauses:—"Ladies are not to get drunk upon any pretence whatever, nor shall gentlemen be drunk before nine. Ladies who play at forfeiting questions and commands, &c., shall not be noisy nor riotous. No gentleman shall attempt to force a kiss, and no person shall offer to strike a woman in the assembly, under pain of future exclusion."

These assemblies were open to persons of distinction, noblemen, superior officers, merchants, and tradesmen of note; but workmen, especially carpenters, and persons employed in ship-building, were to have liberty to enter them, as likewise their wives and children. The reign of Catherine may be considered as that of Menzikoff; she had neither the ability nor the inclination to direct the helm of government, and she placed the most implicit confidence in a man who had been the author of her good fortune, that of her elevation to the throne, since she was the first female sovereign in Russia, the more remarkable, too, as being a foreigner. The affairs

* Catherine I., on her accession, received a letter from the Shah of Persia, wherein he, after the first introductory compliments, said—"I hope, my well-beloved sister, that God has not made thee to love strong liquors. I who write to thee have eyes like rubies, a nose like the carbuncle, and cheeks inflamed with burning fire: and, owing to the unfortunate propensity, I am forced to waste my nights and days on a bed of misery." The Empress's known taste for vatki renders this letter peculiarly *piquante*.

of China seem to have interested Catherine's government, since, in 1726, a treaty was formed between the two countries, whereby Russia had the right of maintaining at Pekin, an hotel, two churches, an archimandrite, with four ecclesiastics, and as many young men destined to acquire the Chinese and Moricahan languages, for the purpose of serving on their return as interpreters on the frontier, or in the office of minister for foreign affairs. The brave Cossacks had, for a time, shame to be commanded by a woman, but Catherine restored to them all the privileges of which they had been deprived during the late reign, and paid them their arrears; she made herself generally popular in the army, so that no disaffection showed itself during her short reign. She had been present during many of their campaigns; she had protected a great many against the wrath of the Tzar Peter, and they all cried out on hearing of his death, "If our father is dead, our mother is still alive." To this element of popularity she principally owed her elevation.

Catherine did not relax from the system of government organized by the great Peter, and carried her arms into the most remote states. The unjust war with Persia was continued, and, with this exception, her empire enjoyed the blessing of peace during her short reign; not that she neglected the arms of war, for both the army and navy were placed on a most respectable footing, and she wished to assist her son-in-law the Duke of Holstein, whose dominions Denmark had appropriated to herself; but the Senate showed no disposition to commence hostilities with that nation, since the dispute was considered a private affair, and Catherine died without having fired a shot in his favour.

The bounds of the empire were enlarged by the submission of a Georgian prince to Russia; and, as a further security of her state, she formed a treaty with the German emperor in the first year of her reign, by which they reciprocally guaranteed to furnish each other with an army of 30,000 men in case of necessity. Of home legislation the Empress adopted several measures, both popular and judicious; she reduced the capitation tax, recalled a great many exiles from Siberia, but the friends or relatives of the first Tzarina, Eudoxa, were not included. She ordered the gibbets to be removed, of which so many had been erected during the late reign, and any unburied bodies to be immediately interred: she made no change in the officers of state, and continued the same routine of government as during the time of her husband. The tranquillity of her reign was only disturbed by two impostors, who assumed the name of the late Prince Alexis, and claimed his inheritance, but they were soon silenced, and the pretenders beheaded.

Catherine had always shown an attachment to the young Grand Duke Peter; she took care of his education; she had also protested against the severity shown to his father, though without being able to arrest the Tzar's terrible wrath. Menzikoff, who governed every thing, who had been raised from the pastry-cook's boy to the first in the council, was further flattered by the distinctions his Sovereign conferred upon him: she decorated him with the order of St. Alexander Nevski for his talents, and services rendered to the late Emperor; this caused the favourite to be haughty and overbearing towards the aristocracy, and tended to create him many enemies; his low birth furnished them with a subject of great calumny, and led to the threat of the punishment

of death to any one who should calumniate either the Sovereign or her favourite, since Catherine herself was not spared. It is supposed that these calumnies affected the mind of the Tzarina, but her declining health must be attributed to other causes; she gave herself up to a life of profligacy and excesses, not only disgraceful to her high station, but disgusting even to the low state of morality of the Russian court.

The Empress became a slave to the most degrading passions. The royal dignity was polluted by the vices of a Livonian peasant; and she who, in her walk of life with the great Peter, had shown such prudence, firmness, and heroism of character, was now degraded to the lowest caste of her subjects. Towards the end of her reign, the affairs of the Empire became very deranged; and, having committed herself by so many acts of impropriety, it was generally thought that, had her life been spared, this would have led to her dethronement. Catherine, who, even during Peter's lifetime, had shown so much courage, activity, and ardour, in the greatest enterprises, soon disdained to be troubled with state affairs; she gave herself up to luxury and pleasure, and to the low state of depravity which at that period so pervaded the Court of Russia.

It is not contended that the late Tzar introduced many improvements in this respect, and, when we consider Catherine's low origin and vicious career, it was not to be expected that morality or refinement would become inmates of her court; but she could at times maintain the pomp and dignity of her high station, with an ease and grandeur of which Peter so much admired the propriety; but, in her latter days, the old leaven seems to have broken out; she was particularly intem-

perate in the use of Tokay wine, and her palace was the scene of profligacy disgraceful to her station, and disgusting to her subjects. Whether she was so intoxicated with her high estate, that she could not bear the acquisition of unlimited power, or that she had attained an unnatural height, and at length became ruthless in her career, certain it is, that both her public and private life became at length a scandal to her reign—such irregularities, joined to a cancer and dropsy, with which she was afflicted, hastened her end, and she expired on the 17th May, 1727, a little more than two years after her accession to the throne, and in the 58th year of her age. "There have been instances (says Voltaire) before this, of private persons being raised to the throne—nothing was more common in Russia, and in all the Asiatic kingdoms, than marriages between sovereigns and their subjects; but that a poor stranger, who had been discovered amidst the ruins of a plundered town, should have been absolute sovereign of this very empire, is an incident which fortune and merit have never before produced in the annals of the world."

Prince Menzikoff took care that she should not die intestate; and, by her last will and testament, the order of succession was confirmed in the person of the Grand Duke Peter, who was placed under the guardianship of the two Princesses, Anne and Elizabeth, and the Duke of Holstein, until he should attain his sixteenth year. A special clause enjoined the guardians to bring about a marriage between the young Emperor and a daughter of Prince Menzikoff; provision was also made, in case of his death without heirs, that the Crown should pass to the Duchess of Holstein and her posterity, and then that the Princess Elizabeth should succeed to the

throne; her daughter Elizabeth generally signed her name, and Count Ostermann put his signature to the public decrees and documents—the Will was signed by the Princess Elizabeth.

The Sovereigns of Russia were almost deified in the minds of their subjects: hence they found it difficult to conceive that those whom they considered to be almost superior to nature could die naturally; with this impression it was generally believed that Catherine had died from poison, as if the disorders which preyed upon her frame were not sufficient to have sent her to the grave. The poison, it was said, was given to her in a glass of spirituous liquors by Prince Menzikoff, her Prime Minister, who was reported to have hastened her death in consequence of a slight misunderstanding with her Majesty, and that he might reign with more power during the minority of Peter II. Such was the public rumour, but utterly undeserving of credit.

Catherine was succeeded by Peter II., then only twelve years of age, nor was he to attain his majority until the age of sixteen. By the will of the Empress, as already stated, the guardianship was invested in the two Princesses, Anne and Elizabeth, and the Duke of Holstein. Prince Menzikoff was appointed regent, who arrogantly assumed the charge of the young Prince, taking him home to his own Palace; his daughter was affianced to him with much pomp. He sought to ingratiate himself with the young Emperor by these various means, of which he was so much master; and, in the haughty triumph of his ambition, he bore himself with insolence to all around him, particularly to the nobles, and to the Duke of Holstein and his wife, who were obliged to leave the king-

dom from his disgusting and arrogant conduct, so that he soon worked his own destruction, and the days of his prosperous career were numbered. A party intrigued against him and pulled him down from his high estate, amongst whom prominently ranked the Dolgorouky family, and a lad of that name was the cause of his ruin.

Ivan, of about the same age with the young Tzar, was his daily companion, and took care to convey the prejudices to his mind, with respect to Menzikoff, which were entertained by his family, one of the first in Russia; he pointed out to him that the Regent had usurped the authority which belonged to himself as Emperor, that it was degrading to him, and injurious to the well-being of the State, that he should keep the Sovereign in vassalage.

Ivan then conjured the young Prince to release himself from his authority; all this sank deeply into his mind: he was the more inclined to do so, since he had formed an attachment to Ivan's sister, Catherine Dolgorouky. Peter then took a dislike to his proposed bride, Maria Menzikoff, and desired to be released from his engagement of marriage with her: this was soon effected, and he was then affianced to the young Catherine. The coronation was fixed to take place early in the following year. The cabal against him alarmed Menzikoff, and he fell ill; the Court retired to Peterhoff, where he repaired to see the Emperor, whose absence was excused by saying he was gone hunting that day. Much chagrined, the Regent returned to St. Petersburgh, and, not suspecting the plot that was working against him, he gave orders for the reception of the Emperor on his return, whom he expected at his own palace, but he never returned again to the residence of the Regent. The party caballing against Menzikoff, had succeeded in procuring

from the young Sovereign an order for his banishment from the capital, and his ruin was the work of a moment. He was exiled to Raninburgh, in the government of Varonej, where, although deprived of his appointments, he flattered himself he should still enjoy his riches and his honours; but persecution soon followed him beyond these precincts. He was stripped of all his honours and his wealth; the latter was so enormous that it was said to amount to nearly 2,500,000 roubles, or one million sterling, when money was five times the value it is at the present day. He had been proved by his royal master, the great Peter, on more than one occasion to have been guilty of gross peculation from the coffers of the State; and whilst the Tzar was practising economy, even to having his shoes mended, his minister and servant was robbing him by wholesale, which the partiality of the Sovereign, and the usefulness of his minister, obliged him to wink at. So it is with almost all instances of low birth; uninfluenced by education, the old leaven breaks out, honour and principle have never been implanted in them, and they are strangers to their guidance: from a pastry-cook's boy to a prince, from a prince to an exile, were sudden transitions.

The fortunes of Prince Menzikoff, whose history it will be well to introduce here, resembles one of those Oriental fables, of which there are so many in the annals of the Sovereigns of Russia. He was born of very poor parents; they dying, left him still young, without any education, insomuch that he could neither read nor write even to the day of his death; his poverty obliged him to seek service in Moscow, where he was taken into the house of a pastry-cook, who employed him in crying mince pies about the streets, and, having a good voice,

he also sang ballads. The Tzar was one day at a Boyar's house, when Menzikoff was in the streets singing his ballads, and attracted his Majesty's attention. He ordered him to be called in, and was so pleased with him, that he took him immediately into his service, more particularly when he found that Alexander had some considerable knowledge of cookery, from what he had learned at the pastry-cook's. He immediately obeyed the Tzar's commands, and soon gained such credit and confidence with his royal master, that he rose from the meanest and poorest grade to be one of the richest subjects in the Russian empire; being not only dignified with the title of prince, but also declared to be a prince of the Roman empire. He was tall, well shaped, very handsome in person, and of great penetration; the Tzar himself appearing at all public meetings as a private person, attended by two servants only, whilst his favourite general was accompanied with almost the ensigns of royalty.

Menzikoff was strongly attached both to the person and to the maxims of Peter the Great, for civilizing the Russian people; he was polite towards strangers, and affable to those who did not pretend to have more merit than himself, nor did he misbehave to those Russians who showed themselves submissive to him. He treated his inferiors with gentleness, never forgetting a service done him; he was brave withal, and, on occasions of the greatest dangers, he gave proofs of his personal courage. Wherever he had once entertained a friendship, he continued a zealous friend; he was possessed with a boundless ambition, he would scarcely endure an equal, much less a superior, nor would he tolerate one whom he suspected of surpassing him in understanding. He was

an implacable enemy, and his avarice was unsatiable; he did not want for natural talent, but having had no education, his manners were rather coarse. His avarice led him into several disagreeable explanations with his royal master, some of which have been noticed; although he had been condemned by him to pay some heavy fines, yet there was found on his imprisonment three millions of roubles in plate and ready money, and this millionnaire was at length condemned to live in his exile at Berosowa, on the most distant frontiers of Siberia, on ten roubles a day, out of which he saved enough to build a church, at which he himself worked, hatchet in hand. He died in November, 1729, of a repletion of blood, since no one was found at Beresowa who knew how to open a vein. He was accompanied to Siberia by his wife, who, growing blind with weeping, died on the way, and by the rest of his family. He had a son and two daughters; the one affianced to the young Emperor Peter, died in exile before her father, and the other was married, during the reign of the Empress Anne, to General Gustavus Biren, brother to the Duke of Courland; she died in the beginning of the year 1737. His son was a major in the Guards, and so long as his father was in favour and prosperity, all the world allowed him a great deal of wit, but after the disgrace of his father, no one in Russia had less than he! Menzikoff, who from the lowest condition had been raised to the highest station in life, would have finished his career with honour, had he not been so infatuated with ambition as to seek to place his posterity on the throne of Russia. It is the same rock on which all the favourites that followed have struck like him, and which is so conspicuous in the history of the Sovereigns of Russia.

It was the custom of Russia at every change of reign or of ministry to free some prisoners of state. Peter gave orders for the enlargement of his grandmother, the Empress Eudoxa Feodoruna Lapuchin, whom Peter I. had divorced, and confined in a convent in 1696; he ordered her a court in proportion to her rank, and invited her to St. Petersburgh; but she had always so great an aversion to the capital, that she preferred remaining at Moscow, where she lived in retirement. The family of the Lapuchins, near relatives to the Empress, were recalled from their exile, where they had been for several years. These acts of grace were carried against the inclination of Menzikoff, who durst not openly oppose it, and they may be considered the preludes of his downfall.

The Dolgoroukys now ruled Russia in the name of the young Tzar; they saw themselves firmly established close to the throne; the people fawned on their fortunes, and trembled at their power. The Emperor was constantly occupied with hunting instead of with business. This was done with the view to reign despotically over him; the chase was his passion, and parties were formed at Moscow for that purpose, where his whole time was engrossed with these pursuits: he abandoned the new capital of St. Petersburgh, which the Dolgoroukys, as belonging to the ancient régime, had not acknowledged to be the capital of the Empire. This error of the young Prince was likely to prove prejudicial to his best interests: had he been permitted to act upon his own judgment, or had he not been led astray from it by those around him, or rather seduced by the temptations laid before him, he would probably have escaped it, which was doing him great injury among the majority of

his subjects. His education had not been neglected: it had been carefully attended to by Count Ostermann, who, at the request of Catherine, had drawn up a plan for conducting it, which, if but half executed, would have modelled him into one of the most enlightened and best sovereigns that had yet reigned in Russia. Great expectations were formed of the young Prince; but his immoderate passion for the sports of the field so engrossed him, that he suffered many days to pass without being seen at Moscow. He was continually at one of his country seats following that violent exercise, to which his bodily strength was not equal; and, not having reached maturity, it began rapidly to sink. The Dolgoroukys had so completely monopolized the young Tzar, that some suspicions were afloat that they meant to kill him; they abstracted him from all business, and encouraged him in that reckless pursuit of the chase, which, there can be little doubt, hastened his dissolution: he died of the small-pox, on the 30th January, 1730, at Moscow, in the 15th year of his age, and the third of his reign. The male line of Romanoff became extinct with the death of this Prince. Peter II. was universally regretted in Russia, even for his short reign, since he had discovered good qualities for governing, and Russia had enjoyed tranquillity both at home and abroad. During that time, he had given promise of becoming a wise and benevolent Sovereign, when he thus prematurely sank into the grave; but if the people were thus disappointed, there were many speculations that the advisers who had obtained such strong hold over him, might have prejudiced him against the new institutions of his grandfather the great Peter, and his absence from the modern capital had already produced serious inconvenience in the affairs

of the government. The army and the fleet had suffered from this absence; foreigners were discouraged, and commerce languished. Some are disposed to think, that Russia was saved from the risk of permanent evils by the early death of this Sovereign. As soon as it was known, the Senate, with the grandees of the Empire, met to settle the succession of the Crown, and their only guide was the will of Catherine I., by which, as it has been already shown, it descended to the Princess Anne and her posterity, or, in failure of this branch, to the Princess Elizabeth; but Anne had died two years before, and her husband, the Duke of Holstein, had retired into Germany. She left one son, but the council decided against admitting foreigners to govern the state. The Princess Elizabeth was then offered the royal diadem, which she was strongly urged to accept by her physician, Lestoq; but she declined it, being unwilling to burthen herself with the affairs of state, having been accustomed to, and preferring private life. The council now reverted to the female line of the Romanoffs, which had been preserved in two daughters of Ivan, the step-brother and partner of the throne with Peter the Great. The elder of these Princesses, Catherine, had married the Duke of Mecklenburgh; she had left her husband in 1719, and returned to Moscow, where she was then residing. In order to gain time to revert to the old dynasty, which was the object of the council, and on the pretence that Catherine would require them to assist her to regain the rights of her husband, they passed over the elder branch, and decided on offering the Crown to her sister Anne, who had been married to the Duke of Courland; but she was now a widow, and residing at Mittau. The objection which the

Russians entertained to foreign alliances induced them to reject the claims of the first, and their choice fell upon Anna Iwanowna.

Anne, although a widow, was still young when she was called upon to fill the Imperial throne of Russia; the Senate endeavoured to impose upon her certain restrictions when it was offered to her, to which the Sovereigns of Russia had never before been subjected. The Dolgoroukys were the most active agents as respects these restrictions, from which they looked forward to derive the greatest advantage; and they hit upon an expedient by which they hoped to deprive her of the power of her own judgment, and to rely upon that of her Council, of which they were the leading members. "The welfare of the nation," said Galitzin, in an address to the Assembly, "demands that the supreme authority and the unlimited power of the Sovereign, by which Russia has suffered so much, and which has been maintained chiefly by foreigners, should be circumscribed, and that the Crown should be conferred upon the new Sovereign under certain restrictions." The proposal was received with great approbation, and conditions were drawn up that she could do nothing without the consent of her Privy Council, neither to make war nor peace, nor to impose any new tax upon the people, nor to alienate any of the Crown lands, nor to marry nor nominate an heir without their consent; to which was added a clause, that her chamberlain, Von Biren, should not accompany her into Russia. A deputation of the Council waited upon Anne, Duchess of Courland, at Mittau, amongst whom was the Prince Dolgorouky, and, on entering her apartment, he found there a man rather meanly dressed, and of very unprepossessing appearance,

to whom he made a sign to retire, but, as he did not stir, Dolgorouky took him by the arm to force him to do so. This was the celebrated John Von Biren, the son of a gamekeeper in Courland, afterwards the Sovereign of that Duchy, the favourite of Anne, and the man that exercised so much influence in Russia during her reign. Anne perceived that by these conditions she should not become the despotic Sovereign of Russia, which her predecessors had formerly been, but simply the Executrix of the will of the Senate; and she would have declined to subscribe to the terms of the stipulation, had she not been advised to the contrary by General Yajaginsky, in whose judgment she reposed the most implicit confidence. He urged her to accept the terms in order to gain time, saying, that on her arrival in Russia, new circumstances might enable her to throw off these impositions, when she might reign as had done the former sovereigns of that country. Anne accepted the terms, and she entered upon her new dignities on the 29th January, 1730, and was crowned with the usual forms; but it was soon perceived that the Empress did not intend to obey the stipulations imposed on her by the Council; for, shortly after she had assumed the royal dignity, Biren came to the Russian court, and took possession of the palace which Menzikoff had occupied, near Catherine. This was the man who, although born in obscurity, was destined to govern, to oppress, and to deluge with blood the Russian Empire.

Count Ostermann was Anne's prime minister, and he soon informed the Sovereign, that the conditions to which she had bound herself on accepting the crown, had not been imposed by the country generally, but by a party in the state, of which the Dolgoroukys were at the head: furthermore, that the people were opposed to it, who,

having been accustomed to the despotism of a single sovereign, preferred their obedience to one than to many; such a feeling had spread among the troops, who felt that the patronage of the army would be decided by the aristocracy, in providing for their own friends and relatives. A petition was signed by several hundred persons, chiefly composed of the enemies of the Dolgoroukys, praying the Empress to accept the throne on the same conditions only as those of her predecessors, as "absolute and unlimited Sovereign," saying, "That they would rather obey one than eight masters." "How!" said the Empress with feigned astonishment, "is not the act which I signed at Mittau the act of all the nation? then have I been deceived."

She had read to her the convention which she had signed, and at each article the people cried out that it was contrary to their wishes. She took the deed from the chancellor and tore it in pieces, declaring that she would reign with the same power as any of her predecessors. The applause in the palace soon resounded through the city—the people joined in the acclamations of the nobility, and Anne was now Empress, not by election, but by hereditary right. She exacted from the people an oath of allegiance to the Empress, as "unlimited Sovereign," including not only the rights existing, but those which might be asserted hereafter. Anne immediately appointed a cabinet of three persons, with Count Ostermann at the head, who was the son of a Lutheran pastor, and had become, by his talents, Chancellor of the empire. The Empress restored the senate to the privileges which they had enjoyed under Peter the Great. Some arrests immediately took place; amongst them were the Dolgoroukys, who were accused of various crimes, none

of which were proved; but they were transported to, and dispersed in, different parts of Siberia—and the young Catherine was shut up in a convent. Many other nobles were disgraced, and sent away from the court. Fresh charges were brought against the Princes Ivan and Vassili Dolgorouky, of their having entered into dangerous correspondence with foreigners. They were broken on the wheel—two brothers were quartered, and another was beheaded—all which executions were the work of the sanguinary Von Biren, who was supposed to have never forgotten the insult which he received from them at Mittau. Thus was one of the most illustrious houses in Russia nearly destroyed, in the first place by their own ambition, and secondly by falling into the hands of a tyrant minister, under an arbitrary Sovereign.

Foreign affairs now demanded the attention of the Empress and her council. The struggle for the crown of Poland between Augustus and Stanislaus was likely to involve Europe in war, Russia having espoused the cause of the former against France for the latter. Sweden also, at the instigation of France, seemed ready to engage in hostilities with her ancient enemy. Everything looked warlike at the commencement of the new reign; and the conquests of Peter the Great in Persia were found a heavy burden upon the resources of the country. The climate was so injurious to the health of the Russian troops, that in a few years no less than 130,000 men perished there, where a garrison was required to be kept up of 30,000 men. No advantages were derived from this costly acquisition to the Russian Empire, and to abandon it with honour was the first care of the new Sovereign. She ceded the provinces to

Thamas Kouli Khan, the new Shah of Persia, for some advantages to be granted to the Russian merchants, by a treaty in 1735. At the same time, a defensive treaty was formed between the two countries of Russia and Persia. The affairs of Turkey likewise engaged the attention of the Empress, since by the unfortunate treaty which Peter the Great had been obliged to make with that power on the banks of the Pruth, Russia, by the abandonment of Asoph, and the destruction of the fortifications of Taganrog, had lost all her former advantages of the commerce of the Euxine.

Peter had made great preparations for a new war, and it remained for his successors to carry out his intentions, or rather to find some excuse for so doing. The Turks were at this time employed in hostilities against Persia, which made the opportunity a tempting one. The Tartars that bordered upon the Russian territory in the Ukraine, and who were nominally under the sovereignty of the Porte, made frequent incursions upon that territory, for which the Empress demanded satisfaction of the Sultan, who, in his reply, excused himself from interfering in the matter, saying that they were roving bands merely, and not subject to his restraint. This reply was just such as was expected by the Russian Cabinet, and a large expedition was immediately sent into the Tartar country, destroying great numbers of them, and laying it waste; but, from their incautiously advancing too far, and failing in their provisions, the Russians sustained a loss of 10,000 men. This did not discourage the Empress, who, in the spring of 1736, sent Count Munich, at the head of a large force, to retaliate upon the Tartars. He was most victorious in his charges upon them, and possessed himself of great part of the

Krimea. He drove them to their lines behind the intrenchments, in which they considered themselves secure. The Tartars in their flight laid bare the country, so that provisions became so scarce that Munich was obliged to return and take up his winter quarters in the Ukraine. But the real object of the Russian cabinet now began to be developed, since they sent an expedition, under the command of General Lacey, to lay siege to Asoph. He reduced it to submission. This was the first declaration of war against the Sultan at the cannons' mouth, and by wresting from him one of his fortresses. The Divan was roused by the roar of the Russian guns, and, although it takes a good deal to stir them, yet they could not be insensible to this attack of the enemy. The Sultan, indignant at the insult offered him, lost no time in preparing for the campaign—levies were raised, the army put into a proper condition, a fleet was equipped for the Euxine, and everything bespoke the most belligerent intentions of the Ottomans. In the meantime, Russia had formed an alliance with Germany, Charles VI. having engaged to furnish 30,000 men as a contingent in aid of this war against Turkey, his Majesty expecting to derive some territorial advantages in the struggle. He therefore entered heartily into the cause, and declared war against the Sublime Porte. The allied forces advanced into the Krimea, although they did not act in concert; for such jealousies soon existed between the commanders of the respective armies, that Russia sacrificed nearly 50,000 of her veteran troops.

Munich remained inactive during the campaign, because he would not act with the Austrian general. The Turks took advantage of the dissension of the allies, which inspired them with fresh courage; and, whilst the

respective commanders were making complaints against each other to their several courts of Vienna and St. Petersburgh, the Ottomans were pouring in upon the German ranks, and, by cutting off their supplies, wasting the troops of Russia. In the campaign of the following year, Munich made some vigorous marches to atone in some measure for his former inactivity; he vindicated the character of his army, and the opening of it promised to make amends for former failures. In the battle of Stavatschan against the Turks, he gained a complete victory; and, pursuing his advantages, he crossed the Pruth, and made himself master of Yassy, the Capital of Moldavia, which territory he subdued in a very short time. His victories were so rapid, that couriers were constantly on the way to St. Petersburgh with despatches announcing them to the Russian Cabinet; and had Russia pushed her successes a little farther, there is no doubt that the Sublime Porte must have submitted to her terms for a peace. The Emperor of Germany being dangerously ill, the contest was withdrawn on the part of that power, and a treaty of peace was signed between Austria and Turkey, on the 1st September, 1739. This war had been very costly to the Germans in men and money, besides which, they gave up to the Turks the strong fortress of Belgrade, on her Hungarian frontier; nor can the objects be defined for which Austria entered into these hostilities, except it was her jealousy of Russian aggrandizement, and her being outwitted by the Russian Cabinet. She shared none of the spoils obtained by the latter power, and the jealousies of the respective commanders proved of immense advantage to the Russians; but for which circumstance, so formidable an alliance, powerful enough to dismember the Ottoman Empire,

might have disturbed the repose, if not have subverted the independence, of all the other European powers.

The Sultan took advantage of this peace with Austria to concentrate his forces, and to commence the campaign with a formidable display of power. The Russian Cabinet, although admitting the right of that of Austria to conclude a separate peace with the Sublime Porte, yet did not think it prudent to conduct the war single-handed; they proposed to negotiate a peace with the Sultan, to which he was not unwilling to accede, and a treaty was concluded on the 7th February, 1740, with some compromises on both sides. Asoph, the first cause of the hostilities, was not to be dismantled, nor occupied by either of the belligerents; the Russian fleets were prohibited from the Euxine, and the commerce of Russia was to be conducted only in Turkish vessels. Thus ended a war which had cost Russia 100,000 men, with an enormous expenditure of money, and all that she gained was to desolate the Krimea, without exterminating the Tartars, who still continued to harass their frontier, and to insult their power. Such were the actual results of this disastrous war, to which the subjects of the Empress must have been blinded; for triumphal processions were made through the capital, swords and medals were lavishly distributed amongst the troops, and the people gave themselves up to an intoxication of joy, imagining that they were the happiest in the world.

The policy of the Empress was much governed by that of Peter the Great, and she persevered in those projects of improvement, which he not only contemplated, but had partly carried out; amongst others, was that of completing the grand canal from the Lake Ladoga to St. Petersburgh, which was completed in the year 1738.

The manufactures and commerce of the country had much of her patronage and care. A commercial treaty was formed with Great Britain, very advantageous to the commerce of Russia.

Skilful workmen and artisans from other countries were invited there, in order to promote and establish manufactories the most useful, and by them silks and woollens were brought to great perfection in Russia. The boundaries of the empire were enlarged by the acquisition of an important territory on the Chinese frontiers, inhabited by the nomadic tribe of the Kirghises, whereby a new trade was created, and the facility of commercial intercourse with China well established. Anne was the first Russian Sovereign to receive an Embassy from that country. She explored the mines of the Oural mountains, and sent out voyagers of discovery to Kamtschatka, to determine whether Siberia was connected with North America. Several such missions had been sent out before, but without success. The Empress did much to embellish the new capital, where she completed many institutions begun by Peter, and established others, which do honour to her name. She contributed greatly to the improvement and civilization of her subjects. The ignorant state in which they then were, may be judged of by an imperial Ukase which was published, ordering "all young gentlemen to learn to read and write, and even to dance!"

The Empress was desirous to eclipse Catherine, and to merit a place in history even equal to that of Peter himself; which ambition led her to engage in those wars both in Europe and Asia—the former in the affairs of Poland, where she succeeded in establishing Augustus III. on the throne of that country. But she created

with barbarous rigour the Primate Potroki, who had favoured the pretensions of Stanislaus. He was loaded with chains, dragged from town to town at the age of sixty, because he had been faithful to his oath.

The Empress' usual mode of life was very regular. She was always up before eight in the morning—at nine, she began to despatch affairs with her secretary and ministers—at noon, she dined in her chamber with the Biren family. It was only on great solemnities that she dined in public, when she was placed on a throne under a canopy, with the two princesses, Anne and Elizabeth. On such occasions, the Chancellor waited at table; there was commonly also a table in the great hall for the first noblemen and ladies of the empire, for the clergy and foreign ministers. But, in the last years of the Empress' life, she did not dine in public, nor were the foreign ministers entertained at court, but on the great festivals Count Ostermann invited them to dine with him.

In summer, the Empress took a great deal of exercise in walking, and in winter in playing at billiards. She took light suppers, and went early to bed. The court went to pass the best part of the summer season at Peterhoff, which stands on the sea-side, from whence may be seen Cronstadt, and on the other side the coast of Finland. This was the favourite retreat of Peter the Great, and had been built and planned by him. Occasionally, the Empress would reside at the Summer Palace, on the banks of the Neva, where the gardens were large and well kept. During this reign, the luxuries and ostentations of foreign courts were partially introduced into that of St. Petersburgh. There was deep play carried on there—many made their fortunes by it,

and as many were ruined. It was not unusual to see 20,000 roubles lost at one sitting at Quinze or at Faro. The Empress had the ambition to make her court the most splendid in Europe, not by gradation, but a sudden assumption of pomp, which was both burlesque and ludicrous. The courtiers, in their attempts to follow the royal commands, committed the most amusing incongruities, particularly in dress. Although the noble's coat was sometimes of the richest, yet his wig was of the vilest kind, uncombed and dirty. Some of the dresses of the ladies were frightfully disfigured; and, although they had handsome faces, yet their persons were deformed, and parties richly attired would sometimes come in a coach, drawn by two wretched hacks, with dirty or uncleaned harness. Thus, in the struggle between refinement and barbarism, the most amusing scenes were witnessed.

The Russian nobility were seen to be equally incongruous in their houses as in their dress. There were wealth and squalidness, pomp and dirt—gold and silver plate amidst heaps of rubbish; and this incongruity was universal throughout Russia. By degrees, those who had good taste imitated good examples. It was much due to Count Biren for getting things in that order in the court which subsequently reigned there. But this magnificence ran into excess, and cost the court an immense sum: it is incredible how much was sent out of the Empire on this account. This extravagance extended to individuals, and a courtier who did not expend above two or three thousand roubles a year in his dress, made no figure: many of those who had the honour of serving the court, reduced their fortunes by these

follies — some to their entire ruin. The Empress did not much love play, although she countenanced it; and, when she did play, it was only to lose. She then held the bank, and none were allowed to join the game but those whom she called. The person that won was immediately paid.

Her Majesty was fond of public entertainments, and sent to Italy for all that was necessary for that purpose. Comedies were acted both in Italian and German, with which she was much entertained. In 1736, the first comedy was acted at St. Petersburgh. It is said that the Empress had a great aversion to see any one intoxicated; but she granted a great privilege to Prince Konrakin in this particular, he having the liberty to drink as much as he pleased: nevertheless, that the habit might not be entirely lost to her subjects, a festival was consecrated to Bacchus on the 29th January, old style, the anniversary of her accession to the throne, when every one was obliged to drink off a great bumper of Hungary wine, with one knee on the ground, in the presence of her Majesty. On the eve of the great festivals, the courtiers and officers of the Guards had the honour of paying their respects to her Majesty, and of kissing her hand, the Empress at the same time presenting them with a glass of wine on a salver. One of the court entertainments is thus described, in which the Empress felt great interest: this took place towards the end of the year 1739, and Prince Galitzin was the occasion of it: though above forty years of age, and having a son serving in the army, he was made at once page and buffoon of the court, for having changed his religion. His first wife being dead, the Empress thought he ought to marry again, when she would be at the expense of the wedding;

he accepted the proposal, and, selecting a girl of low life, he acquainted the Empress with his choice, who, on giving the entertainment, wished to see how many different kinds of inhabitants there were in her dominions. Accordingly, she caused orders to be despatched to the governors of the different provinces, to send to St. Petersburgh several persons of both sexes, when, being arrived, they were, at the expense of the court, dressed each in the habit of their respective countries.

Monsieur de Walinsky was appointed manager of the arrangements for the wedding, and winter was the season chosen for the celebration of it. The Empress, to make it more extraordinary, had a house built entirely of ice: it consisted of two chambers, in which everything of furniture, even the bed-place on which the married couple were to lie, were of ice. There were four small cannon and ten mortars made of the same material; the cannon were fired several times with half an ounce of powder in each without bursting, and little wooden grenades were thrown out of the mortars without their being damaged. On the wedding-day, when the feast was to be celebrated, all the guests were assembled in the court-yard, from whence the procession set out. They passed before the imperial palace, and through the principal streets of the city; there was a great train, consisting of more than three hundred persons; the new married couple were placed on an elephant in an iron cage; the guests, two and two, were in sledges drawn by all kinds of beasts, such as reindeer, dogs, oxen, goats, hogs, &c. After the procession had gone the round prescribed, it was brought into the Duke of Courland's riding-house, where a flooring of planks had been laid for the purpose, and where dinner was pre-

pared for them on several tables; each was treated with cookery according to the manner of his own country. After the repast there was a ball: each nation had its own music, and its own mode of dancing. When the ball was over, the bride and bridegroom were conducted into the chamber of ice, and guards were placed at the door, that they might not come out before morning. Thus ended the "divertissement" of the court, in which the Empress took a lively interest.

The Empress Anne, during her long residence in Courland, had imbibed from the nobility of that country their politeness and ease of manners. She, therefore, turned with aversion from the barbarous usages of her own countrywomen. She was of a very amiable disposition, naturally of refined mind, and attached to the pleasures of social life. She had cultivated music and dancing, in which she excelled, and endeavoured to introduce those refinements into her court, with the luxuries and magnificence of those of Europe. But such introductions proved the utmost degree of burlesque amongst courtiers and maids of honour, tutored and patronized by Catherine I., the Livonian peasant. Drunkenness, so much the practice of the former court, amongst both sexes, was totally abolished in this reign, and nothing was more detested by the Empress Anne. If she kept up any of the customs of the former sovereigns, it was in retaining court buffoons, of whom Peter I. always kept a dozen for the entertainment of himself and his courtiers; but Anne had only six, generally men of high birth, and they were punished if they failed to amuse the sovereign and her court by their buffooneries.

The great blot in the reign of Anne, was the unlimited power which she gave to her favourite Biren,

who ruled the people with a rod of iron; he was so dreaded by them, that when he was on horseback, on seeing him at a distance, they would run as fast as they could for the first gateway, and those in carriages stopped, got out, and prostrated themselves before him. By his exactions he drove the people to revolt: the malecontents were arrested, the most horrible executions took place, and torrents of blood flowed; it is said that not less than eleven thousand victims suffered, and multitudes of them were banished to Siberia. Even the Empress is reported to have gone on her knees to Biren, imploring that the executions might be stayed, but he was inexorable; and, whilst he was shedding their blood by wholesale, so abject were the people, that they were lavishing upon him their adulations—both courtiers and ministers—even to drinking his health on their knees, and giving the toast, "Perdition to whosoever refuses to do the like; he is not the true, sincere, and faithful friend of his Highness Monseigneur the Duke de Biren."

This was the man that visited Russia with the greatest scourge with which the country could be afflicted, but he was punished in the succeeding reign. Under Count Ostermann as privy councillor to the Empress, and Marshal Munich as her great general, the affairs of the Russian empire, both foreign and domestic, may be said to have flourished during this reign: Biren took care not to offend either of these dignitaries, although it was thought that the Turkish war was undertaken at his suggestion, in order to remove Munich from the court. He was jealous of any one approaching his royal mistress that might abridge his influence; he was even jealous lest she might entertain thoughts of marriage—the interdict of the council having been removed; but

Anne had no thoughts of marriage except for her niece Anne, daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburgh, and her sister Catherine, whom she adopted in 1731; she was then only twelve years of age, and renounced the Protestant faith as well as the name of Catherine, and was baptized by that of Anne. The Empress chose for her a husband, Ulric, Duke of Brunswick, and their wedding was celebrated in the month of July, 1739. In August the following year, Anne gave birth to a prince, who was named Ivan, who was taken under the immediate guardianship of the Empress, and nominated as her successor.

The declining health of the Empress prevented her from exercising the sovereign authority. She, therefore, immediately nominated a successor to the throne. It was the interest of Biren to have the infant prince named, in order that he should be appointed regent during the minority. Ostermann and Munich approved of his design, since they expected to retain their positions—the one as prime minister, the other as commander-in-chief of the army. The Empress made a Will, in which she ordered that Biren should be the administrator of the government until Ivan attained his seventeenth year; should he die before that time, Biren should continue guardian to Ivan's brothers born after him, and that, should neither survive, he should, in conjunction with the senate, elect a new sovereign with "unlimited authority."

By his intrigues, Biren thus got himself appointed regent, and he succeeded so far as to get an address presented to him, with numerous signatures, that he would be pleased to accept the same, "at the express desire of the nation." It now only remained to him to obtain the signature of the Empress to make the deed valid;

and, as she approached her last moments, the important deed was presented to her. Biren took care to have his own creatures about her: even her niece was not permitted to speak to her, and it is said the Empress signed the deed, not knowing the contents. Anne died on the 28th October, 1740, in the forty-sixth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign.

Anna Iwanowna had great firmness of mind, with strong discernment. She found the empire without treasure or ability of any sort, the splendour of the Crown had been sullied by the restrictions imposed on it, and her own prerogative degraded and confined; but she soon vindicated the imperial authority, and filled the offices of state with great and accomplished statesmen. The Empress was sufficiently powerful to shake the foundations of the Ottoman empire. She rendered Courland and Poland totally dependent upon Russia, one for its dukes, the other for its kings. She greatly augmented the commerce of her subjects, by judicious treaties with Great Britain; and, having reigned thirteen years with great reputation, having re-established the peace of her empire, and settled the succession in her own branch, she died in the fulness of her glory, leaving two millions of roubles in her coffers, being the greatest treasure that had ever been possessed at any one time by any of her predecessors. She had been accused of severity, if not of cruelty, but justice fully authorized all those measures of her reign, which have been represented as rigorous and sanguinary. She had a perfect knowledge of the nature and temper of her subjects, and she governed them accordingly. She must, for "all in all," be pronounced as having been a great sovereign for Russia.

Biren, having now obtained the object of his ambition,

reigned with an iron sway over Russia. From his pinnacle of power and grandeur he looked forward for several years to become the ruler of the Russian empire. The regent lodged in the summer palace. He assumed the title of "his Highness," and lived at greater expense than the parents of the young Prince. The Princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, and her husband, who were the natural guardians of Ivan, expected to have been appointed regents, but no one dared to oppose the power of Biren, who held the irresponsible power over life and death of the Russians. On the day following the decease of the Empress, he published the act constituting him regent, and required every one to take the oath of allegiance to the young Emperor.

Biren, although universally hated and feared, seemed yet to increase the general discontent against himself by the most flagrant acts of tyranny. The people were jealous of seeing the imperial power wielded by a foreigner, and of such low birth, who, seated in the palace of the Tzars, expended in pomp and magnificence enormous sums drawn from the royal treasury, issuing his decrees and exercising a despotism unknown before, even in Russia. He would put people to the torture to obtain evidence against those whom he suspected of being inimical to his government. The streets groaned with the cries of his victims of the knout. The people fled in terror, and the dungeons were filled with the objects of his suspicions merely. He had likewise the temerity to offend both the parents of the young prince, by saying that, if they mutinied against his power, he would send them to Germany, and recall the Duke of Holstein, the husband of the late Princess Anne, daughter of Peter the Great.

Biren held frequent conferences with the Princess Elizabeth, her sister. It is said that his ambition even prompted him to make her proposals of marriage, and that his son should marry the eldest daughter of the Duke of Holstein, thus doubly to secure the throne to himself and his posterity; but the intrigues against him were now fast maturing: he had grievously offended Marshal Munieh, who determined on the downfall of the regent. The marshal zealously attached himself to the Duke of Brunswick. This alliance, added to the important services which he had rendered to Russia, and his popularity with the army, caused him to be a most valuable partisan to the party in the palace, who were now intriguing against Biren; he was soon caught in their snares, and the conspiracy, which was so silently organized against him, was promptly accomplished. At two o'clock in the morning, Munieh and his aide-de-camp went to the winter palace, where the Duke and Duchess of Brunswick were residing, and their infant son. Strict orders had been given by the regent that no one should be admitted to them, and sentinels were posted to enforce the order; but the marshal chose the day when the regiment was doing duty at the palace of the young Emperor, of which he was the colonel. To his admission, therefore, no difficulty was made by the commandant.

Munieh immediately repaired to the duke and duchess, and they signed an order for the arrest of Biren. The marshal, taking with him eighty men under arms, marched to the summer palace, where he then resided; he had to win over the Guards, who received with joy the order to arrest the regent, and Manstein, the leader of the armed band, was conducted into the palace. His orders were to take with him twenty of the fusilier

Guards, and to shoot Biren should he make any resistance. On traversing the apartments, Manstein was somewhat embarrassed to find the regent's bed-chamber, and feared to ask the domestics lest they might give alarm; at length he forced open a door, and found him in bed in a profound sleep.

Manstein approached the bed and opened the curtains, when Biren awoke, and, uttering a loud cry, endeavoured to conceal himself under the bed; but the Guards entered and threw themselves upon him, tied his hands, and carried him naked as he was before the marshal. He was then wrapped up in a soldier's cloak, put into the marshal's coach with a soldier to guard him, and in this way was conducted to the winter palace. At four o'clock in the afternoon, Biren, the once powerful, the feared, the despot over millions of people, was sent off a prisoner to the Castle of Schlusseburgh, there to await the decision of the council as to his fate. Immediately a commission was opened, composed of senators and officers, by whom he was condemned to death; whereupon a manifesto was issued, recapitulating Biren's crimes, and the tyranny he had exercised in Russia; setting forth that he had obtained the regency by fraudulent means; that he had squandered the imperial treasures; that he had treated with contempt the parents of the emperor, and violated the statutes and ordinances of the empire; thus concluding, "by the laws of God, of nature, and of the empire, he hath merited death;" but the capital punishment was remitted to that of exile in Siberia, where he was transported in the month of May, and compelled to associate with numerous wretches whom he had condemned to the same fate. Thus fell this extraordinary man, from the brightest star

of earthly glory to the lowest abyss of wretchedness. He had risen from the gamekeeper's son to be the Duke of Courland, the favourite of the Empress, the ruler of her empire, at whose name her subjects trembled; he was now loaded with the chains of a convict, and exiled to frozen regions for life amidst the scum and crime of Russia: no one commiserated his fate, not a hand was raised up in his favour, so thoroughly was he detested by all classes in Russia. Biren enjoyed his regal state for twenty-two days only, when he was numbered amongst the criminals.

This celebrated man had served the Empress, whilst Duchess of Courland, as High Chamberlain; his grandfather's name was Bieron, head groom in the stables of the Duke James III. of Courland, and attended him everywhere. He had two sons; the one, father of Biren, who had three sons; the second, Ernestus John, (now alluded to), became Duke of Courland: he was very handsome in person, and soon acquired the favour of the duchess, who took such delight in his company that she made him her confident. The nobility of Courland were jealous of the new favourite, who married Madame de Feodor, maid of honour to the duchess. When he began to advance in the career of fortune, he took the name and arms of Biren in France; he had no sort of learning nor education beyond what he taught himself; he was not destitute of good common sense: having resided some time in Russia, he knew pretty well all that related to that empire, and governed every thing; he loved pomp and magnificence to excess, and had a great fancy for horses; he was haughty and ambitious beyond all bounds, abrupt, brutal, and avaricious, an implacable enemy, and cruel in his punishments.

In the year 1737, Biren was elected Duke of Courland, supported by the Russian troops, who marched immediately into the duchy to support his pretensions. His power with the Empress was at one time a little shaken by Walinsky, a minister of the cabinet, who preferred certain charges against him which produced a coolness; but this was soon removed, and she placed the charges in Courland's hands. The duke had no sooner read them than he resolved on the ruin of Walinsky, who was tried and convicted of having been guilty of speeches too free and disrespectful of the Empress. He was condemned first to have his hand cut off, then his head. The sentence was executed, and two privy counsellors were also beheaded, because they were his friends and confidents. Another had his tongue cut out, and two underwent the knout, and were banished to Siberia. All their estates were confiscated and given to others, who did not possess them long. In this manner was it that in Russia, not only money, but lands, moveables, and houses, circulated quicker than in any other country in Europe; sometimes even three times in the space of two years. So extraordinary were the changes which took place both in the government of the country at this period, and in the fortunes of her subjects.

But although Biren governed Russia with a rod of iron, the empire shone during this government with the greatest splendour; every department of the administration, and all places of power, were filled by the illustrious foreigners whom Peter I. had formerly collected in his travels. Their long services had placed them at the head of every department; and Biren, himself a foreigner, checked their ambition under a severe yoke,

and made the whole Russian nation bend under their authority. He aimed at the regency of the Russian empire with unlimited power, which he at length obtained from his expiring mistress, who said to him with tears in her eyes, "Biren, you are ruining yourself." Everything was provided for the arrival of this moment; he had a short time before put to death by torture all those of the exiles who could have been objects of terror to him upon his accession to the regency.

Russia, now delivered from an intolerable yoke of bondage, had a new government to organize, and the Duchess of Brunswick proclaimed herself as regent during the minority of her son. Such were the fluctuations of the Russian rulers in these days,—some abased, and others soon exalted. The different classes took the oath of allegiance to her as regent which they had sworn to Biren, and the duchess decorated herself with the order of St. Andrew. Munich was appointed her minister in preference to Ostermann, which soon begot a jealousy between these two chiefs; the latter determined to ruin his rival for his presumption, and he did it so effectually, that it was thought he would have been sent to Siberia, and Munich was soon deprived of his appointment.

The foreign affairs of the empire during this regency were not very important. The Swedes, still smarting under their disgraces from Peter the Great, were anxiously looking out for a pretext for war; they desired to wrest from Russia their conquered provinces. They could make no plausible pretence for hostilities, since the terms of the last treaty of peace had been most scrupulously observed by Russia; but under the flimsy pretext of delivering her from the government of foreigners, a

manifesto was issued by Sweden to the following effect:—"The sole intention, on the part of Sweden, is to defend herself by arms against the oppressions exercised against her by the arrogant foreigners, the ministers of the Russian Court, and at the same time to deliver the Russian nation from the yoke which these ministers have imposed on it, by assisting the Russians to regain their right of electing for themselves a lawful ruler." The foreigners particularly alluded to were Ostermann and Munieh. War was declared, which the Swedes flattered themselves would produce a revolution in Russia, but it met with no sympathy there. On the contrary, the government of the regent was popular; scarcely ever had the country enjoyed so mild a sway: she was incapable of severity, and she had attached the nation to her by her benevolent and confiding disposition. The Russians soon took the field; a large army under General Lacey gained an important victory over them in September, 1741, near Vilmunnstrand—such was the result of the first campaign. During this regency, a splendid Eastern embassy arrived at Moscow from the Shah of Persia, Thamas Kouli Khan, soliciting the hand of the Princess Elizabeth in marriage, the fame of whose beauty had penetrated even to the ears of "the Asylum of the Universe, the King of Kings." All the display of Oriental magnificence was exhibited by the ambassador, who made his entry into St. Petersburgh at the head of several thousand men, in July, 1741; they brought with them twenty pieces of cannon. The ambassador presented to the regent, on the part of the Shah, fourteen elephants, with an immense quantity of jewels (according to the Persian estimate, amounting to fifty millions sterling); but the Princess Elizabeth, who had been long living

in retirement, and was even estranged from the Russian Court, not being on cordial terms with the regent, declined the great honour proposed to her by the "Cousin of the sun and moon," and refused to bask amidst the houris of the harem, in the sunshine of the Shah's countenance. The embassy was courteously received and hospitably treated; it afforded much amusement to the Court of Russia.

The government of the regent now became much disturbed, not only occasioned by the quarrels between Ostermann and Munieh, but by disagreements between the duke and duchess themselves, each of whom adopted one of these rivals as their partisan: harmony and concord ceased to exist between the royal pair; consequently the affairs of the state fell into confusion, and the government was divided into two parties, Munieh being patronized by the duke, and Ostermann by the duchess. These dissensions were seized upon within the palace as the justification for another revolution. Such changes had been effected so rapidly, and with so much success, that it emboldened stratagem and encouraged conspiracy: even the principle laid down by Peter the Great, that the Sovereign might nominate his successor, produced instability in the state, from the uncertainty as to who would be named. The order of legitimacy had not been ignored, and it had ruled most of the elections; yet even this tended to unsettle the minds of those whose element was change, to be effected by a camarilla, or by a regiment of the Guards, as will now be illustrated. The overthrow of Biren was occasioned by a variety of circumstances; himself an upstart foreigner, ambitious, cruel, rapacious, and one that well merited the abyss into which he fell. The house of Brunswick, that now held the reins of govern-

ment, were also foreigners, as were all those holding the chief offices in the state: even the young Emperor himself, Ivan, might be deemed an alien. His father was a German prince, and his mother the daughter of a German prince, although he could trace his descent from his grandfather, Ivan, step-brother to Peter the Great, which was the only link of legitimacy to bind him to Russia.

It has been noticed, that amongst the old families of Russia there was always a great prejudice against foreigners, whether introduced into the department of the state, into the army, or as artisans and mechanics only. This prejudice had been by no means obliterated, and by degrees the nation lost their confidence in the present regency, which they deemed to be as much exposed to a revulsion as had been the preceding administrations, particularly since the dissensions in the palace had become so notorious.

The regent was of very indolent habits, which prevented her discovery of the intrigues which were forming around her. She placed all her confidence in one of her maids of honour, Julia de Mengden, with whom, and a few chosen friends, she would remain in seclusion for a long time together—estranged from, and altogether neglecting, state affairs. The duke, her husband, complained; his complaints were ill received. The nobles were chagrined at seeing the regent absent from Court, and the government fell into great disorder, threatening ruin to the empire. A conspiracy was then formed to upset the regency, by awakening in the mind of the Princess Elizabeth the ambition to ascend the throne, as the only lineal descendant of Peter the Great. She was, therefore, by birth nearer to the throne than the

young Prince, Ivan; her habits of life were more congenial to the aristocracy than those of the Germans, and they sought to find in her a Sovereign combining the two principles of legitimacy and free election; but Elizabeth was averse to the cares of sovereignty, and preferred the repose of retired life. Even during the reign of the late Empress, she observed the same quiet course, keeping aloof from politics, nor holding any intercourse with the distinguished men of the Court; she was consequently in the full confidence of the Empress, and Biren never entertained any suspicions to her prejudice as a political partisan; but the time was fast approaching for the Princess to play another part, by appearing on the stage of politics, which may be said rather to have been forced upon her by circumstances, than adopted from inclination. The regent had prevailed on the Duchy of Courland to elect for Grand Duke Prince Louis of Brunswick, the brother of her husband, to succeed Biren, who had forfeited the dukedom. The election accordingly took place, and Prince Louis came to St. Petersburgh, where he was received with great distinction. The regent had resolved that he should marry the Princess Elizabeth, to which marriage she had a great aversion, and this was one of the leading circumstances which induced her to listen to the overthrow of the regent's government; but there were many others equally cogent. She saw that the administration of Russian affairs had fallen into the hands of the Germans, and she entertained that aversion to foreigners which prevailed amongst the older nobility.

The indolence of the regent, and her utter neglect of the affairs of the state, rendered it necessary for the good of the country that some change should be effected; but

what hastened Elizabeth's determination seemed to have been the current report, that the regent intended to declare herself Empress on her birthday, in December 1741. There would be then no longer a choice between an elective Sovereign and a direct descendant of the house of Romanoff, of which she was the only representative. This seems to have determined the Princess to listen to the proposed revolution, which was strongly enforced upon her by Lestoq, her physician, a Frenchman, and by whose perseverance it was prosecuted; he likewise succeeded in obtaining money from the French ambassador to aid the enterprise, and by this means bringing over some of the troops to espouse the cause of the Princess, who had formerly made herself popular with the Guards, by having sometimes stood sponsor for their children.

Lestoq was indefatigable in the cause of his royal mistress, over whom he expected to reign supreme; and the two first confidents of his scheme were a drummer and a trumpeter of the Guards, to whom he promised large rewards. The conspiracy now proceeded with rapidity, although Elizabeth rather regarded its progress with fear, and wished to postpone that which Lestoq was so anxious to accomplish. A great many persons were implicated in it, and it could scarcely be expected but that some rumours of their movements must reach the ears of the regent, who treated it with the utmost carelessness, and lulled herself into a fancied security, depending upon the fidelity of her friends; she concealed the information from her husband until it was too late to take any steps, for which he severely censured her.

Ostermann was scarcely made acquainted with the de-

signs of the Conspirators, when he warned the regent to take the necessary measures to prevent the accomplishing their designs; she was also warned of her destruction by the British ambassador, but all in vain, until at length an anonymous letter was sent her, particularizing all the Conspirators, and apprizing her of what was going on The regent then sent for Elizabeth to the palace, and reproached her for having conspired against the young Emperor and herself, at which she burst into tears, and replied with much seeming ingenuousness—"Then why not secure my person?" She protested her innocence, and with such a show of sincerity, that the regent embraced her, and permitted her to retire without any restrictions whatever. Elizabeth immediately communicated this to the Conspirators, who, seeing that the vigilance of the Court was awakened, lost no time to carry their plans into effect. Lestoq pressed her that she should be proclaimed Empress at once; he had gained over numerous partisans by bribery, and reminded her that now was the time or all would be lost; but still Elizabeth hesitated, and feared to run the risk of shedding blood. The Conspirators were dispersed in different parts of the city; they could not be assembled at once, so it was postponed until the following day.

The next morning Lestoq hastened to the residence of Elizabeth; the Guards were under orders to march for Sweden; they included some of the Conspirators. It was most important, therefore, that the revolution should be immediately accomplished; he entreated her to follow him to take possession of her father's throne. Still she hesitated, when he presented her with a card, showing a crown upon her head on one side, and in the habit of a nun on the other, urging that she must at

once make her election, there was no middle course. This argument succeeded with Elizabeth, and she consented to follow him; then, decorating herself with the order of St. Catherine, she stepped into a sledge by the side of her chamberlain, and drove to the barracks of the Preobazinski Guards, which regiment was the principal means of placing her on the throne.

On arriving at the barracks, Elizabeth addressed the troops, holding the cross in her hand, and reminded them that she was the daughter of Peter the Great, on which she advanced her claims to the throne, that she had been illegally deprived of the succession, adding that the government had fallen into the hands of foreigners, to the exclusion of native Russians. The Princess was warmly received by the troops, and acknowledged as "Empress of all the Russias." The next thing was to secure the young Emperor, with the regent and her husband; the Conspirators proceeded immediately to the palace, and, by forcing the sentries at the gates, they obtained an easy admission to their apartments, when they were unceremoniously dragged from their beds, scarcely allowing them time to dress: they were then conveyed to Elizabeth's palace, and placed under a strong guard; the infant, Ivan, was awoke from a sound slumber, and taken to the same place with his parents. Thus the revolution was accomplished with so few Conspirators, aided by about three hundred soldiers only, in a few hours, and without shedding a drop of blood.

On the following morning, the inhabitants of St. Petersburgh were called upon to take the oath of allegiance to the Empress Elizabeth. She immediately issued a manifesto, stating that she had taken possession of the throne of her father, as the nearest by right of

birth, and that she had yielded to the request of her faithful subjects, particularly the regiments of the Life Guards, to occupy the throne inherited from her parents, Peter the Great and the Empress Catherine. This revolution took place on the night of the 5th December, 1741.

The principal persons connected with the regent's government were seized upon and thrown into prison, including Ostermann and Munich, and Prince Louis Ernest of Brunswick. The people had by this time been so accustomed to the revolutions of the palace, that before the day was over the authority of the Empress was completely established. In another proclamation, which was issued soon after by Elizabeth, she stated that she had sent back the regent, with her son and husband, to their own country, with all the honours due to their station, which was not the case, since they passed their lives in captivity, removed from one fortress to another, according to the caprice of the Empress. The young Ivan was confined with his parents until his eighth year, when he was sent to the fortress of Schlusselburgh; his mother died in 1746, but the father survived until 1780, always in captivity, striking instances of the mutability of fortune.

## CHAPTER II.

Elizabeth's Accession to the Throne of Russia—Peace with Sweden—War declared against Prussia—Great Successes of the Russian Troops—their Barbarous Warfare—Ostermann and Munich banished to Siberia—Lestoq rewarded and banished—his History and Treatment in Exile—Recalled by Peter III.—Elizabeth appoints her Successor, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp—his Arrival at St. Petersburgh—Takes the name of Peter—his Profligate Life—Arrival of the Princess of Anhalt in the Russian Capital—Peter's Marriage with the young Catherine—Birth of an Heir to the Throne—Dissolute Lives of the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess—Soltikoff her first Favourite—Poniatowski's Arrival at St. Petersburgh—his Intrigue with the Grand Duchess—is Detected by the dishonoured Husband—Leaves the Russian Capital—Further Successes against the Prussians—Elizabeth's Coronation—Secret Court of Inquisition—Barbarities practised by it—Madame Lepouchin receives the Knout—Some description of this punishment—Suspicious Character of the Empress—Becomes Gloomy and Irascible—Dreadful State of Society in Russia, from the Terrors of the "Secret Chancellerie"—Composition of this Tribunal—Bestuchoff banished to Siberia—Elizabeth a great Sovereign—The Chafacter of her Reign—Death of the Empress—Peter III. ascends the Throne—Recalls numerous Exiles from Siberia—Marshal Munich, his History and Return to St. Petersburgh—Peter's peaceful Policy—Laudable Actions—his Indiscretions—Great predilection for Frederick the Great—Offends the Military and the Clergy—Conspiracies formed against Him—Disgusts his Wife—Ridicules the Greek Religion—Festivals of the Court—Follies of the Tzar—Catherine conspires against Him—Progress of the Conspiracy—Counts Panine and Orloff join in it—The Tzarina's growing Popularity—Great Zeal of the Conspirators—Peter warned of his Danger—Retires to Oraniabaum—One of the Conspirators denounced to the Tzar—Alarm of the Confederates—They send for Catherine at Peterhoff—Her Arrival at St. Petersburgh—Visiting the Barracks of the Guards—Catherine proclaimed Empress—is Crowned by the

Archbishop of Novogorod—Great rejoicings of the People—Catherine's Manifesto—the Blind Fatuity of the Tzar—is Apprized of the Conspiracy by his faithful servant, Bressen—Peter attempts to negotiate with Catherine—is taken Prisoner, and confined at Peterhoff—Indignities offered to the fallen Sovereign—The Tzar renounces the Sovereignty—Peter petitions to be sent to Holstein—is Imprisoned at Ropscha—Visited by Orloff and other Conspirators—They Strangle him—Surprise of the Empress, and her Manifesto announcing the Tzar's Death—His Interment at the Nevski Monastery—Grief of the People.

ELIZABETH succeeded to the throne of Russia on the 6th December, 1741, at which time the war with Sweden was pending. It had been prosecuted with little vigour by them; the valour of the Swedes seemed to have passed off with their great hero, Charles XII. The consequence was, that many of their provinces were ceded to Russia by the peace of Abo, in 1748, after which, the Court of St. Petersburgh exercised so great influence over that of Stockholm, that Sweden became little more than a Russian province. The Empress now engaged in the great European contest which was shaking states to their foundation, in which she was supposed to have been governed by the ambition of her father, and war was declared against Prussia on the pretext of succouring her ally, the Duke of Courland.

The Russian forces, commanded by Marshal Apraxin, marched into Prussia, took Memel, and obtained a brilliant victory over the troops of Frederick, after which, the marshal, who, although successful, retreated into Courland, for which he was placed under arrest, and was replaced by General Fermer, who took Konigsberg, the then capital of Prussia, and laid the country under contribution; but he was soon succeeded by Soltikoff, who enjoyed the confidence of his Sovereign, and the love of

his troops. He gained a great victory over Crossen, the Prussian general, having put "hors de combat" fifteen hundred men, and wounded more than double that number, obliging them to abandon twenty-one pieces of cannon, six standards, &c. He then marched to Frankfort, and threatened even the gates of Berlin; and in a second engagement, where the Prussian armies were commanded by the King in person, he gained another battle, where the Prussians lost two hundred pieces of cannon, twenty-six stands of colours, and nearly fifty thousand men remained prisoners to the Russians.

Such splendid successes over the great Frederick gave extraordinary éclat to the Empress's reign; but the warfare of this age was so barbarous that it seemed likewise to stain the annals of Elizabeth. There was little or no discipline now established in the Russian armies; they had much degenerated since the time of her father, Peter the Great, and the Russian troops exercised such cruelties as had never before been heard of in the military history of Europe; they were termed "Barbarians," at whose approach the people fled in terror; they made the land a desert, and by such means cut off their own sources of subsistence; they destroyed and burned every place to which they came, pillaged and ravaged wherever they went, and proved themselves the most undisciplined warriors of the eighteenth century.

The Prussians were alarmed lest their enemies should advance upon Berlin, and orders were given for the removal of the royal family to Potsdam. Frederick did justice to the bravery of the Russian troops, in a long letter, saying—"These fellows may be killed, but can never be conquered; they would frequently suffer themselves to be cut in pieces rather than fall back an

inch; but in their retreat, like undisciplined hordes, they often met death as a reward for their barbarities." Great changes immediately took place in the members of Elizabeth's government. All that remained of the Dolgorouky family were recalled from Siberia, and their places supplied by Munieh and Ostermann, who were at once banished to those frozen regions, as having kept her so long from the throne. Many others were recalled from banishment who had been sent there by the Empress Anne. Thus the game of politics was changed, some being sent *into*, and others brought back *from* exile. Those who had revelled in the sunshine of a court, and wallowed in riches, were sent to earn a subsistence in those wild countries; and the marshal who had commanded armies was, it is said, actually employed in instructing children in mathematics. But Elizabeth knew how to reward as well as to punish.

Lestoq, her physician, who had contributed so materially to her success, was appointed a privy councillor, and president of the college of physicians. But the man was ambitious, and presumed too much on his services, nor would be subject to the arbitrary caprices of despotism. He offended the chancellor Bestuchoff, by whom he was accused of holding a dangerous correspondence with the ambassador of Prussia, and Elizabeth gave him up to her chancellor's resentment; he was deprived of all his property, and exiled to a miserable village in the province of Archangel, where he was abandoned to extreme indigence, from which he was recalled by Peter III., and died at St. Petersburgh, in 1767.

Lestoq was born in the electorate of Hanover, and having learnt surgery at Paris, he so committed himself as to become an inmate of the Bastile; he came into Russia to

seek his fortune, and was soon, for his misconduct there, sent into Siberia. On being recalled from his first exile, and being appointed surgeon to the Princess Elizabeth, he persuaded her that she had a title to the throne, and after having placed the crown on the head of Elizabeth, was banished with his lady; he was first arrested and shut up in the fortress of St. Petersburgh with his wife, who was of one of the most noble families of Livonia, and maid of honour to the Empress before her marriage with Lestoq.

The countess, on being arrested, took off all the diamonds belonging to her, as well as her watch and other trinkets, and throwing them at the feet of those by whom she was arrested, told them to lead her to the place they were ordered to conduct her to; she was shut up in the same castle with her husband, but in a different apartment; all their effects were put under a seal, in expectation of a sentence of the secret court of chancery. These illustrious prisoners were given up to this odious tribunal; their ruin was looked upon as inevitable, and there were no efforts made for their defence. Lestoq had received a sum of money from a foreign power in alliance with Russia, and to this assistance Elizabeth was much indebted for the crown. The receiving of this present was the great charge brought against Lestoq; on being questioned, he owned having received it, but his judges having asked him the value of the sum, his answer was, "I do not recollect, but if you are desirous of knowing, the Empress Elizabeth can tell you;" and added, "he had informed his princess that the sum had been offered to him on account of the favour she showed him, and the Empress had allowed him to accept it." The countess Lestoq, being as convinced that sentence would be given

against her husband as she was of his innocence, begged one favour of the judges, that she might be beheaded, and that they would spare her *skin;* that is, that she might not receive the punishment of the knout, to which the Empress would never consent she should be subjected, notwithstanding all the contrivances of the chancellor Bestuchoff.

All their estate was confiscated; they were banished to Siberia, shut up in different places, and not allowed to correspond with each other. The countess had but one room to live in; her furniture consisted of a few chairs, a table, and a bed without curtains, made of straw, and with one coverlet; she got clean sheets twice in the first year; four soldiers in an adjoining chamber constantly watched her; she was not allowed to leave her room even for the common necessaries of life. She used to play at cards with the soldiers, in hopes of getting a few copeks to dispose of as she pleased, which, however, was not always allowed. Count Lestoq was still more unhappy, because the vivacity of his disposition made him more impatient of confinement. The Empress allowed them each twelve roubles per day, but the exiles were not permitted to touch the money, lest they might attempt to bribe their guards: it was paid over to the officer in charge, who was ordered to procure them all requisites, and to let them want for nothing, but in his hands very little of the money value reached them.

A few years after, they were suffered to live together; they had their several apartments and a small garden at their disposal. The countess worked in it, fetched water, brewed, baked and washed. Lestoq and his lady were at length recalled by Peter III., after fourteen years' exile. He came to St. Petersburgh in the dress of the

lower sort of people, which is commonly made of sheep-skin. All the noblemen of the court, and foreigners, flocked eagerly to see him, endeavouring to make him forget the time he spent in exile. The friendly offers he received were sincere, because every one knew he was innocent. The Empress Elizabeth never had a better subject more firmly attached to her, and he had constantly maintained his allegiance during his exile. Although seventy-four years old, he still preserved all that firmness which had been so necessary for him when he placed Elizabeth on the throne. Peter III. having done him the honour to admit him to his table, Lestoq spoke to him in the following terms—"Sir, my enemies will not fail to do me all the mischief they can, but I hope your Majesty will permit an old man, who has but few days to live, to prate on and die in peace." He was very fond of relating the particulars of his banishment, of which he used to give a circumstantial account. He claimed all the effects that had been taken from him when he was arrested; but they had been already distributed among private persons, according to custom. He declared he would take possession of them whenever he found them, and also demanded that a fair account should be given him of his jewels, and of the money the officers had received during his exile.

The exiles were conducted into vast magazines, where, in compliance with the customs of the country, all confiscated property was preserved—melancholy deposits of the loss of favour—in which were arranged, according to the order of time, all the remains of their renowned wrecks. They there sought in the midst of the dust for their valuable effects—their diamond insignia, with which the Sovereigns of Russia had formerly purchased their

adherence; but their researches were fruitless, and they recognised many of them in the possession of the favourites of the late reign.

But Elizabeth knew how to reward some of those who assisted her to the imperial dignity, and as a grateful return to the regiment of Preobazinski Guards, who were the principal means of placing her on the throne, she conferred nobility on all the officers of that corps, and the soldiers were raised to the rank of officers. Many other proofs were given of the Empress's royal munificence and liberality to her supporters, by whose aid she quietly succeeded to the throne of her ancestors; not an opponent showed himself—not a voice was raised against her legitimate and elective rights, and every thing seemed to promise a prosperous reign to the last lineal descendant of Peter the Great.

Soon after her accession, Elizabeth occupied herself in nominating a successor to the throne. She had never married, but had early in life been affianced to the young Prince of Holstein, brother to the Princess of Anhalt-Zerbest, but at the time the marriage was about to be solemnized, the Prince fell sick and died, when, in the bitterness of her grief, Elizabeth made the vow of perpetual celibacy. The choice of the Empress for her successor fell upon Charles Peter Ulric, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the son of her eldest sister, who, by the will of Catherine, had a prior right to the crown even to herself. The young Prince, then only fourteen years of age, was invited to St. Petersburgh, where he was received with great distinction by his aunt, by whom he was persuaded to embrace the Greek religion, and he received at his baptism the name of Peter. He was proclaimed Grand Duke, and heir of the empire. His

education had been neglected—military exercises were the only things he took any delight in. He was a great admirer of the King of Prussia, whose capital he had visited—his ambition seemed to be, to become a second Frederick, whom he copied.

Never had fortune placed a prince in a more favourable situation. Besides being Sovereign of Holstein, he had the choice of two other crowns, those of Russia and of Sweden. They were both offered to this Prince, who, uniting in his own person the blood of Charles XII. and of Peter I., had to choose an empire for himself. His election fell on that of Russia, and he transferred the Swedish monarchy to his uncle. His education was ill adapted to the high station he had to fill; for, with an unaccountable mixture of good intentions, they degenerated into ridiculous manners. He had childish views directed towards great objects—a sort of military mania gave a hue to his whole life. His favourite passion was to act the part of a drill-sergeant, and he had at his palace of Oraniabaum some Holstein soldiers, whose sovereign he was: these he used to drill and dress in the Prussian fashion, and he appeared himself in a Prussian dress to the very height of extravagance, with a hat of prodigious size, fantastically cocked, covering a small ugly crabbed countenance, which he was perpetually disfiguring with grimaces by way of amusement, with a great degree of liveliness. He had a decided turn for buffoonery. The companions who surrounded him were German officers, from whom he learned the propensity of hard drinking.

All his affections and all his recollections were German. In this retreat he would seclude himself for months at a time from the court. He despised every thing that was Russian, and had the utmost contempt

for the people over whom he was probably soon to govern. Such a training could ill suit him to become the Sovereign of the great Russian empire: his character and conduct became not only bacchanalian, but disgustingly profligate, and such excesses were indulged in as to render him truly criminal. They became so notorious at length as to be reported to the Empress, who paid but little attention to it, and seemed rather desirous to estrange him from the court, that he might be incapable of taking any share in the government. His reputation was one of the safeguards of her throne, where revolutions were so frequent, and where adventurers were seeking tools for their ambition.

With the hope of reforming the Grand Duke, who was then in his sixteenth year, the Empress destined for him a consort in the person of Sophia Augusta, Princess of Anhalt-Zerbest, whom she invited to her court. Her father, the sovereign of a petty state, was then in the service of the King of Prussia. The young Princess, only in her fourteenth year, was accompanied by her mother to St. Petersburgh, and, adopting the Greek faith, she was baptized by the name of Catherine; she is described as a princess formed by nature for the highest state of Russian elevation. Her figure was noble, her gait majestic, and her deportment graceful in the highest degree; her features proclaimed a superior character, and her air was that of a sovereign—her profile possessed wonderful beauty—her forehead was large and open—her nose bordering on the aquiline, and her mouth was embellished with a beautiful set of teeth—her hair was chestnut-coloured, and uncommonly fine—the eyebrows dark brown, the eyes hazel, and extremely fascinating.

Such was the princess destined to play so considerable a part in the history of the Sovereigns of Russia. The marriage took place with much pomp in May, 1746, and in the marriage contract it was expressly stipulated that should the prince die without children of this marriage, his consort, if she survived, should succeed to the imperial throne. Catherine had a presentiment from the beginning that she should become mistress of Peter's immense dominions, and she acquired an immediate ascendency over her husband, owing entirely to her skill in the art of pleasing, of which she was completely mistress. The choice of this princess by the Empress as a wife for her nephew, was supposed to have been much influenced by her having been niece to the Prince of Holstein, to whom she was formerly affianced. Her mother had the ambition to place her daughter on the throne of Russia: she had taken great pains with the education of the young princess, who was instructed in the modern languages, and in such accomplishments as were rare in the Russian court. She was acquainted with history, and with the principles of science, and well disciplined by her mother by salutary restraints, which gave firmness and decision to her character.

The young Catherine soon made a favourable impression on the mind of the Grand Duke, who before his marriage was seized with the smallpox, and the change of his features rendered him so extremely ugly, that it is said she fainted away at the sight of him, and that the love of the princess was converted to hatred; but her mother prevailed upon her so far, that a disfigured countenance did not frighten her from the throne of Russia. The princess dissimulated her disgust, and that unhappy

marriage took place, the consequences of which are so conspicuous in the annals of that country.

This ill-assorted match produced the most disastrous consequences to the Grand Duke, the events of which belong more particularly to this reign. For a time, they seemed to live in all the harmony of domestic life; even the gaieties of the court were abandoned for the pleasures of retirement, and there was fine promise that the youthful couple would prove a blessing to the nation. But this did not last long; a coolness took place between the husband and his bride, which soon fermented into deadly hatred. Peter was coarse and vulgar, giving himself up to drunken revels. Catherine was a fine woman, and highly accomplished, and loved those refined amusements to which she had been accustomed at the court of Berlin, of balls, music, and elegant conversation.

Peter formed an attachment to a lady of the court, in whom he found a mistress truly worthy of him. A faction was formed by the Chancellor, Bestuchoff, to exclude the Grand Duke from the throne, and to place Catherine at the head of affairs, to accomplish which he excited prejudices against him in the mind of Elizabeth, representing him as given up to drunkenness and to every unprincely vice; but he did not succeed in establishing that prejudice in the mind of the Empress, who made it a point of conscience to leave the crown to her nephew as the lineal descendant of an elder sister, and from this idea of justice she never swerved amidst all his frailties. The annals of this court are full of the disgusting details of its immorality. The barriers of virtue and decorum were broken down by those who should have been their guardians, and the page of history should not be stained with them except that it cannot

otherwise be faithfully pourtrayed. Amidst the vices of the court, the profligacy of her husband, and perhaps as some revenge for his infidelity, the beautiful—the accomplished—the talented Catherine—fell.

Her first favourite was Peter's chamberlain, the young Soltikoff. Peter's dishonour soon reached the ears of Elizabeth, who was more offended by it than her husband seemed to be; but, to avoid the public disgrace of the princess, Soltikoff was removed from court, and sent on an embassy to Sweden.* The Grand Duchess shed tears on the occasion, and her conduct was severely watched, more than usual with the general manners of the court, or the personal conduct of Elizabeth.

Once fallen, further restraints were mocked by Catherine, and the path of infamy was entered upon with a recklessness which has but few parallels in her exalted station. Her next favourite was an accomplished Pole, Poniatowski, who accompanied Sir Charles Williams, the British ambassador from London, as his secretary, with the view of visiting a court so interesting to that of Warsaw, and to acquire a knowledge of business by acting as secretary to the British embassy. Poniatowski was allied by his mother to the first families in Poland; he subsequently became the king of that country by the will and at the dictation of the Grand Duchess when she was elected as the great sovereign of the north, whose histories we shall have to follow.

Catherine bestowed upon the young Pole the whole favour of her love, and a sincere attachment existed between them. After a short excursion to his own country, he returned to St. Petersburgh in the character

* This Embassy was to announce the birth of an heir to the throne—the Grand Duke, Paul Petrovitch, who was born the 1st October, 1764.

of minister, when the intercourse with his mistress was renewed. The scandal became so notorious, and the Empress was so incensed, that she ordered him without delay to quit the Russian dominions; but he previously fell into the hands of the injured husband, for, as he was on the point of being admitted into the apartment of the Grand Duchess, he was betrayed to the dishonoured prince. Peter was furious; he had him immediately secured in the guard-house, and despatched a courier to the favourite who governed the empire. Poniatowski protested as a minister from a foreign court; he maintained even in that situation the rights of his public character, and the prince, who saw in this adventure two courts in danger of quarrelling, durst take no step of revenge; but the Grand Duchess, braving all danger, went boldly to her husband, acknowledged the whole truth, and represented to him that, by publishing the affair, he might draw upon himself troublesome and even dangerous consequences. She justified her own conduct on the principle of retaliation, and reproved him with keeping a mistress, which was so notorious to the whole empire.

The Grand Duke, confounded at the ascendency over him which she still possessed, and at the same time importuned by his mistress, connived at the escape of Poniatowski, and did his utmost to prevent the rupture on which he had first resolved. Poniatowski was recalled by the king his master, and the Grand Duchess made no secret of her attachment to her lover. The Empress became indignant at her conduct, and the courtiers, witnessing the royal frown, deserted the now forlorn Catherine, who lived in the midst of a court as though she had been in a desert, and in this way did she pass her life for a long time. She was now subject to the insults

of those who had formerly lavished upon her their assiduities and their smiles, but her courage did not forsake her—her bold and daring mind seemed to contemn all censure. It was at this time she laid the foundation of her future greatness. She derived from an event which might have proved her ruin, a still greater security, by the opportunity of exposing the weakness of her husband. She kept his mistress in her pay, and did her utmost to expose the follies and vices of the Grand Duke to the ridicule and contempt of those around her. It was during this period that she secured herself friends for the hour of need, by forming secret alliances, in order to carry out her ambitious views, which now entirely centred in her son. She formed the project of transferring the crown to the child, and to secure to herself the regency, which would be in strict conformity with the laws of the empire, but for which purpose it was absolutely necessary that Elizabeth should depose her nephew; in this there was no chance of succeeding, although Bestuchoff, her chancellor, did his utmost to prejudice him in the mind of the Empress. The most criminal intrigues were carried on every day by the factions, during the long time previously to her death that the Empress was confined to her bed.

The hatred of the Grand Duke and Duchess towards each other had reached such a point, that Catherine requested permission to leave the Court, and to retire into Germany; but this was refused by Elizabeth, who was apprehensive that, during her absence, some attempts might be made to prove the Grand Duke, Paul Petrovitch, illegitimate, who was born eight years after the marriage, and of whom the Empress began to be very fond; and it was thought at one time that she would

have declared him heir to the throne, in preference to Peter, who was no favourite with the Russians, whereas, Catherine had done her utmost to ingratiate herself in their good graces. She was artful and insinuating, and, by conforming to the national habits and prejudices, she won over a large party to her interests, by whom her husband was detested, and they looked forward with apprehension to his succession, with his avowed contempt for the Russian people.

Amongst others of Catherine's partisans was the Count Panine, preceptor to the young Grand Duke, Paul. He endeavoured to prevail upon her to assume the reins of the empire at the death of Elizabeth, in preference to her husband, during the minority of her son; but before she had recourse to the great designs which she was meditating, she once more attempted to seek a reconciliation with her husband, and to recover her former influence by gentle methods, and even the very domestics were engaged to inspire the dying Empress with the thought of effecting a reconciliation between the Grand Duke and his wife; this so far succeeded, that a seeming cordiality existed between them. Peter seemed to restore to her all his former confidence, and Catherine said that, when the death of the Empress took place, she would advise him to conform to the established rules on the occasion of an accession to the throne.

The war against Prussia was pursued with vigour. A battle between the Russian and Prussian troops took place on the 12th of August, when, after an obstinate conflict, Soltikoff became the victor of the hero Frederick, when he took twenty-six stands of colours, nearly two hundred pieces of cannon, and baggage and stores in immense quantities. Nearly five thousand Prussians remained in

his hands, and two thousand deserters came over to his ranks; eight thousand Prussians were killed on the field, whilst Russia sustained a loss of only three thousand men. The following year Count Tottleben entered Berlin; he made the garrison prisoners of war, and put the whole city under contribution. The news of the last victory reached the Empress whilst she was on her death-bed. No other political events occurred during this reign which are worth recording.

This Princess, at the beginning of her reign, had the character of a mild and benevolent Sovereign, since she prohibited all capital punishments within her dominions. It was said she had great repugnance to shedding blood, even in those wars which she deemed necessary, and which she pursued with vigour; particularly that against Prussia already alluded to, whose king she sought to humble, and even on her death-bed she exhorted her successors to follow up hostilities against her enemy, which was dictated by feelings of revenge. The Empress was for some time renowned for her clemency, tenderness, and maternal love, of whom the people said —"She has a soul so tender, that she carries all her subjects in her heart." No capital punishments being permitted, it was difficult sometimes to keep the soldiery in order; the dread of an execution was almost necessary to impose terror amongst them. But the nobles exercised the greatest tyranny over the serfs, by the knout and other barbarous punishments, almost revolting to humanity.

The Empress did all in her power to emancipate them from this yoke by orders and proclamations. Elizabeth, although advanced to the throne by the acclamations of the soldiery, the senators, and nobles of the land, yet

thought it necessary to have the general concurrence of the people of the empire; she was, therefore, crowned with great pomp at Moscow, on the 7th May, 1742, amidst the august ceremonies and sacred oaths of all orders of the kingdom. She did not forget that it was a revolution which placed the crown on her head, and therefore she took these legal means to secure her right to it.

Elizabeth patronised literature, she fostered commerce and manufactures, she augmented and endowed many scientific establishments founded by Peter the Great at Moscow, she instituted a university and two gymnasia, she invited and encouraged strangers to her capital, and patronised theatres for native actors. It is said that the Empress had a good voice, and was accomplished in music. There were many persons of distinction at St. Petersburgh at this time, who were eminent performers. The magnificence of her Court was increased, as were the embellishments of her capital, which now began to vie with the first cities of Europe. The Russian empire made great progress during her reign, and the population was said to have been augmented by one-fifth in amount.

But the annals of this Princess's reign are stained by the institution of a secret Court of Inquisition, where the vilest practices were carried on against suspected delinquents; it is even said that the Empress sometimes witnessed their barbarous punishments. It is related that she had pretensions to be considered the finest woman in Europe, and that she was jealous of other beauties competing with her, amongst whom was the fair Lapouchin, who was her most dangerous rival, since her charms were said to have exceeded even those of the Empress herself. She was by this tribunal charged with being implicated

in some secret conspiracies. Elizabeth referred the matter to Bestuchoff, the chancellor of the inquisition, by whom the accused was condemned to the knout; this frightful punishment was executed upon her with all its rigour. The Empress is reported to have witnessed behind a curtain the horrible flagellation, when the flesh of her fair rival was cut into morsels, so that she could no longer dispute with the Empress the homage of her beauty.

Madame Lapouchin was one of the finest women belonging to the Russian Court. She was intimately connected with a foreign Ambassador, then engaged in a conspiracy, in which she was supposed to be an accomplice, and was condemned to undergo the punishment of the knout. She appeared at the place of execution in a genteel undress, which contributed to heighten her beauty; the sweetness of her countenance and her vivacity were such as might indicate indiscretion, but not even the shadow of guilt; young, lovely, admired, and sought after at the Court, she was now only surrounded by executioners. She looked on with astonishment, seeming to doubt whether such preparations were intended for her. One of the executioners then pulled off a kind of cloak, which covered her bosom: her modesty, taking the alarm, made her shrink back a few paces, she turned pale and burst into tears; her clothes were soon after stripped off, and in a few moments she was quite naked to the waist, exposed to the eager looks of a vast concourse of people, profoundly silent, when she underwent the barbarous punishment, by which, in a few minutes, all the flesh from her bones was cut off and hanging in small strips; her tongue was then immediately cut out, and she was afterwards banished to

Siberia. In 1762, she was recalled from banishment by Peter III.

Before the reign of Elizabeth other barbarous punishments were inflicted on criminals in Russia; they were broken on the wheel, impaled through the side. Sometimes, they were suspended by the ribs upon hooks, in which situation they lived for several days; so did women, who were buried alive to the shoulders for the murder of their husbands, a punishment equally inflicted on the nobility and the commonalty.

The despotism of Elizabeth's government was likewise exercised in minor matters. No one dared pass the palace, facing the royal apartments, without taking off the hat, or putting down the glass of a carriage, or they would be instantly exposed to the insults of the soldiers; nor did the people dare to play with roubles, bearing the impression of the Sovereign. Any one who should write the name of the Empress in small characters, would be liable to be severely punished for it; such was the extent of the absolute power of the Russian rulers, that nobody could approach the throne without fear and trembling. They were banished to Siberia for the slightest political intrigue, and their whole possessions were confiscated. An entire family fell victims to the artful insinuations of a courtier. The mutual distrust in which the people lived in Russia, and the total silence of the nation upon everything which may have the least relation to the government, arose from the privilege, which every Russian had without distinction, of crying out in public—"I declare you guilty of high treason, both in words and actions." All the bystanders were obliged to assist in taking up the person accused; a father arrested his son, the son his father, the accused

and the accuser were both immediately consigned to prison, and were then tried by the secret Court of Chancery.

This tribunal, composed of a few members chosen by the Sovereign, had the lives and fortunes of all families at their mercy. If the accused was found guilty, he was condemned to death, and part of his estate became forfeited to the accuser; this jurisdiction was established, in order that tyranny might enjoy the privilege of sacrificing such persons as became the objects of despotic jealousy. The nobility, thus bowed down under the most dreadful despotism, did not fail to retaliate upon the people, who were slaves to them, as they were to the Sovereign. It was positively dangerous to name Prince Ivan, then a prisoner at the castle of Schlusselburgh.

Following the Empress Elizabeth into private life, we find the manners and morals of the Court utterly depraved, and herself yielding to the grossest vices; the result of such depravity being, that she became irascible and gloomy, and suspicious of all around her, which followed as a chastisement for her crimes. She shut herself up with her Chancellor, Bestuchoff, some say plotting against the people; they sent spies into private families to report on the slightest observation on the government, particularly on the life of the Empress. Private friendships were thus cut up by the roots, and suspicion stalked around, poisoning the sources of intercourse of all societies. Charges were constantly made to the frightful "Secret Chancellerie," by servants against their masters, children against their parents, by which a sort of instinctive terror was established in almost all ranks in the metropolis.

The Empress exercised the greatest despotism towards the clergy, exacting the utmost rigour in their fasts, and against drunkenness. She was extremely superstitious, and thought it more sinful to neglect a fast than to break any of the commandments in the decalogue. Tyrants always suffer from the crimes of their own tyranny; she shut herself up in her palace, suspicious of every one, and detested by all; at length, even her trusty chancellor, Bestuchoff, was suspected by her of plotting against the government, and was banished to Siberia.

Her palace was surrounded by guards to repel the people, who she feared might assassinate her, well knowing that she merited the secret hate of the nation. She durst not lie down to sleep till daylight appeared, and she lived under such terrible apprehensions of being surprised during the hours of rest, that she had diligent search made for the most watchful being that could be met with, who watched in the Empress's bed-chamber all the time she lay asleep. Elizabeth knew perfectly well, from the facility with which a revolution was effected in Russia, that the Crown tottered on her head. The reign of few Russian Sovereigns present a greater contrast of crimes and virtues, of pleasures and miseries, proving that absolute power vested in a female is more dangerous than if vested in a man, since they must become swayed by the opinions of others, and are liable to greater impositions; yet Elizabeth's government enjoyed a reputation during her life beyond what it merited, since she was ignorant alike of the principles of government, and of the character of her subjects. Although she abolished capital punishments, she retained the use of torture; so that "her tender mercies were cruel." She was so vain as to order "Elizabeth the Clement" to be in-

scribed on her medals, although under this reign the most wanton scenes of cruelty were acted, one of which has been recorded.

Yet, with all her faults, Elizabeth was no unworthy descendant of Peter the Great. From being little better than a prisoner, she became at once a sovereign. At the accession of this princess, the Russian power, so newly created, seemed to be in danger of a decline from the many revolutions to which the empire had been subjected; and the institutions of her father, by which that extensive part of the world was drawn out of barbarism, began perceptibly to decay. By the rigour of her government this was put out of the question, and by the encouragement which she gave to art and science. In fact, she governed the Russian empire generally with more lenity than any of her predecessors. She regulated and increased her finances, increased the discipline of her armies, and in all her transactions with foreign states she always supported the dignity and importance of her country. No power but the King of Prussia was capable of checking hers; and by the dominion which she, in another name, held over the duchy of Courland, she possessed a very great share of the Baltic coast, an uncontrollable power over Poland, and by the same means overawed Denmark and Sweden. She could interpose in the concerns of Germany with much more authority. But the glories of the sovereign were much shaded by the weaknesses of the woman. She had all the extremes of pride and conceit.

She was so vain of her charms, and so jealous of those of others, that at her court beauty was an unpardonable crime; and, abandoning herself to every excess of intemperance and profligacy, she was inflexibly severe to those

who, imitating her example, permitted to themselves the same indulgences. Russia, under the reign of Elizabeth, not only still maintained, but considerably augmented, her power and importance. It was not much distinguished by either military or political talents. Butterlin and Soltikoff were her Generals, and Woronzoff her Chancellor.

The empress Elizabeth died January 2nd, 1762, in the twenty-second year of her reign, and the sixty-third of her age. She left three children by a clandestine marriage with Count Alexis Gregoriwitch Rozamouski, who, whilst a simple Cossac, was noticed by her whilst playing on the serpent in the chapel of the Palace; the youngest of the children was a girl, and was brought up under the name of Princess Tarrakanoff. One peculiar characteristic of the Sovereigns of Russia at this period was, that they were supposed to have no relations, and that no one dared claim any connection with the royal family.

Peter the Third ascended the throne on the 5th January, 1762, and having been confirmed in his rights by the Empress Elizabeth on her death-bed, he was immediately recognised by the military and civil authorities. The Archbishop of Novogorod, in his sermon at the Cathedral, thanked Heaven that a prince so likely to imitate his illustrious grandfather had succeeded as ruler of his empire. The new sovereign commenced his reign with a proclamation, that he not only intended to tread in the footsteps of his grandfather, Peter, but to carry still further the principles of his government, in order to enhance the prosperity of his subjects. He issued an edict, whereby, in the plenitude of his arbitrary power, he granted to the Russian nobility the rights of a free nation, as if in reality the rights of the people depended upon this

concession; and, in their transports of joy, the nation proposed to erect for him a statue of massive gold, but this was merely the illusion of the moment. The will of the sovereign continued to be the sole law, and the nation was grieved to find that it had been deceived. Peter's first actions were prudent and patriotic; he appeared to be reconciled to his wife, by spending much time in her company; he immediately abolished the secret chancery, which had been so odious to the people in the former reign; he recalled from banishment more than 17,000 persons, the greater part of whom had been the victims of Elizabeth's jealousy, and amongst them was Munieh, Biren, and Lestoq, who had been banished during the former reign. Bestuchoff was the only one that found no favour from him. Peter, whose levity was equal to his good-nature, invited the three exiles to the imperial table, and reconciled them to each other; and it is said by those who were present, that the interview of those extraordinary personages was uncommonly entertaining, and that their embarrassment, concern, excuses, professions, and embraces, were comic to the highest degree. Marshal Munieh, at that time eighty-two years of age, was admitted to an audience on the 31st March. The old soldier, dressed in his sheep-skin pelisse, which he had worn in the deserts of Siberia, presented himself to his sovereign, attended by one of his sons, who was yet alive, and thirty-two of his grandchildren.

The Tzar immediately restored to him the badge of St. Andrew, of which he had been deprived, together with the rank of field-marshal, and said, "I hope that, notwithstanding your advanced age, you may still serve me;" to which he replied, "Since your Majesty has brought me from darkness to light, and called me from

the depths of a cavern to admit me to the foot of the throne, you will find me ever ready to expose my life in your service; neither a tedious exile, nor the severity of a Siberian climate, have been able to extinguish, nor even to damp, the ardour I have formerly shown for the interests of Russia and the glory of the monarch." It may not be deemed irrelevant to introduce a short history of this celebrated marshal, who enjoyed the favour and protection of seven sovereigns of Russia—from Peter I. to Catherine II.—and who was as great a courtier as a general. He never complained; both Russians and foreigners had the greatest respect for him; he was of the tallest size, though advanced in years, and extremely thin; he had preserved, in the midst of his misfortunes, a most agreeable countenance; he engaged all hearts by his politeness and the gentleness of his disposition.

Count Burchard Christopher Munich, son of a Danish officer, was born at New Thonsta, in the county of Oldenburgh, on the 9th May, 1683. He received an excellent education, and in the seventeenth year of his age entered into the service of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, who, on account of his knowledge in tactics, conferred upon him the rank of captain. He served his first campaign in 1701, when the Emperor Joseph commanded, against the French, and was present at the siege of Landau. In 1705, he was employed as a major by the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and learned the art of war under the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene: he distinguished himself for his cool intrepidity in several engagements and sieges, particularly at the battle of Malplaquet, when, in recompense for his bravery, he was made lieutenant-colonel. Being in 1711 dangerously wounded in the battle of Denzin, he was taken

prisoner by the French, and soon after his release, in the ensuing year, raised to the command of a regiment.

In 1716, he quitted the Hessian and entered the Polish service under Augustus II., and was soon promoted to the rank of major-general; but in 1721, being insulted by Count Fleming, the king's favourite, he went into Russia, and was received in the most honourable manner by Peter I., being charged by that great sovereign with the execution of several important trusts, civil and military. He successively filled the highest posts in the army and the state; he was created marshal by the Empress Anne, and placed at the head of the war department; he obtained the command of the army against the Turks, and proved his military talents by his successes in the campaigns of 1737 and 1738. Soon after the death of the Empress, he advised, planned, and executed the arrest of Biren, and was rewarded by the regent, Anne, with the office of prime minister; but as he was discontented at not being appointed generalissimo, and as his power and authority gave umbrage to the court, he requested permission to resign his employments, and was astonished at the readiness with which his request was granted. Instead of repairing to the Prussian court, to which he was strongly advised, he imprudently remained in Russia, flattering himself with the hope of being reinstated in his former dignity, and was arrested on the 6th December, 1741, by order of Elizabeth. The ostensible reason of his disgrace was, that he had persuaded the Empress Anne to nominate Ivan her successor; but the real cause was, that he had ordered to be taken into custody one of Elizabeth's favourites. Munich was brought before a committee appointed to examine the state prisoners: being plagued

with repeated questions, and, perceiving that his judges were determined to find him guilty, he said to them—"Dictate the answers which you wish me to make, and I will sign them." The judges immediately wrote down a confession of several charges, which, being subscribed by Munich, his mock trial was established. Being thus, without further ceremony, convicted of high treason, he was condemned to be quartered, but his sentence was changed by Elizabeth to perpetual imprisonment. During that Empress' reign, he was confined at Pelim, in Siberia, in an Ostrog or prison surrounded with palisades, of which, according to Mansteen, he had himself drawn the plan, and ordered to be constructed for the reception of Biren. The place of his imprisonment was an area, enclosed with high palisades, about 170 feet square, within which was a wooden house, inhabited by himself, his wife, and a few servants, and a small garden, which he cultivated with his own hands; he received a daily allowance of 12 copeks for the maintenance of his little establishment, which small pittance he increased by keeping cows, selling part of the milk, and instructing youths in geometry and engineering.

He behaved during his long confinement with the utmost resignation, tranquillity, and even cheerfulness; and was accustomed every day to drink to "his wife's happy return to St. Petersburgh." He had prayers twice a-day from eleven till twelve in the morning, and from six to seven in the evening; they were read in the German language, by his chaplain, Martens, and after the chaplain's death, which happened in 1749, the Count himself performed the service. Besides the culture of his garden, and the hours he passed in giving instruction, he found sufficient leisure for composing hymns, for trans-

lating several psalms and prayers into German verse, and for writing a treatise upon the art of war: the latter he proposed, if ever he should be released from his confinement, to present to the King of Prussia. In the last year of his imprisonment, a sentinel informed against Munieh's servants for supplying him with pens and paper; the Count, in order to prevent all discovery, was obliged to destroy all his writing—the amusement and labour of so many years.

He had always supported himself with the expectation of recovering his liberty at the accession of Peter III.; but he was no sooner informed of the event, than, with the agitation natural to a person in his state, he began to dread that his expectation was ill founded. He suffered, during many weeks, the most alarming anxiety, perpetually fluctuating between hope and fear, and was often heard to declare, that these few weeks appeared to him longer than all the former years of his confinement.

At length, on the morning of the 11th February, 1762, the long expected messenger arrived from St. Petersburgh with the order for his release. Munieh, who happened to be engaged in his prayers, did not perceive him, and his wife made signs that he should not disturb him. Upon being informed of his recall, he was so affected as to faint away, but on his recovery he fell down on his knees, and, in the most fervent manner, offered up thanks for this change in his situation. On the 19th he departed from Pelim, and arrived at St. Petersburgh on the 24th March, in the same sheepskin-coat which he had worn in his prison.

The eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon what steps the Tzar might take, with regard to the government of the country; those who were intimately acquainted with

his character and disposition, had no reason to imagine that he would abandon the system of his predecessor. He immediately began to abolish some severe and tyrannical impositions on his subjects; he lessened the tax upon salt, much to their relief: and, with respect to the politics of Europe, his disposition to peace became soon apparent. He declared that, "in order to the establishment of peace, he was ready to sacrifice all the conquests made by the arms of Russia in this war, in hopes that the allied courts will, on their parts, equally prefer the restoration of peace and tranquillity to the advantages which they might expect from the continuance of the war, but which they cannot obtain but by a continuance of the effusion of human blood."

This declaration astonished the world, and the allies praised the disinterestedness, spirit, and humanity of this declaration; they showed a disposition to imitate his desire for peace, but by no means to follow his example in purchasing it by a cession of all the advantages which they had acquired, or hoped to acquire by the war. The Tzar's predilections in favour of the King of Prussia have been already noticed; but Frederic placed very little confidence in this until proofs were given of it, which remain to be noticed, for he not only ceased hostilities with that power, but induced Sweden to do the same; she signed a treaty of peace with the King of Prussia on the 22nd May.

The first actions of the Tzar on coming to the throne were laudable, and seemed calculated to gain him the affections of his people; but if in some instances he consulted their interests, in others he shocked their prejudices: his disposition seemed to lead him to wish to make alterations in every thing. Peter III. made

more new regulations in Russia in a few weeks than wise and cautious princes undertake in a long reign; it looked as though his actions were guided more by a rash and unguarded state of mind, than by any regular and well-digested plan for the improvement of his extensive dominions, which required a greater degree of vigilance, and a steadier hand. The regular succession, which had been so often broken, had left Russia a weakness with the appearance of strength, and a great facility to sudden and dangerous revolutions. Peter paid little attention to the difficulties with which he was surrounded —to him the greater since he was born a foreigner—and the invidious regard which he paid to foreign interests and foreign persons, disgusted his subjects; although this was extremely impolitic, yet it did not seem to threaten any immediate dangerous consequences. On the other hand, the new sovereign ingratiated himself with his subjects by granting great privileges to the nobility, and relieving them of those penalties imposed by his predecessor: he enacted several new laws, and made many salutary regulations to relieve the burdens of the people; he diligently visited the different departments of government, and applied himself industriously to state affairs, and would receive the petitions of the people himself; thus every thing looked auspicious at the accession of the Grand Duke Peter to the throne of his ancestors, on which he reigned only six months. The Emperor gave orders for a new coinage, and the artist endeavouring to give to his figure a degree of dignity, he rejected the design, and insisted on being represented in his natural condition, with his hair dressed in the military style, in a manner so very unbecoming to the dignity of a throne, that these coins

became an object of derision, and, in circulating over the whole empire, gave the first blow to the attachment of the people. But the new sovereign soon began to disgust his subjects more rapidly in proportion than he had been able to please them; he proved himself to be a weak and contemptible prince, descending even to buffoonery; his most intimate friends were Germans, and he appointed his uncle, Prince George of Holstein, to be commander-in-chief of the Russian forces, which gave great offence. Although the Empress Elizabeth was said to have had a cordial affection for her nephew; yet she was negligent of his education to qualify him to be the ruler of the Russian monarchy. He was never employed by her in state affairs; she even kept him short of money; nor had she ever appointed him to any command in the army, although he was so fond of military affairs, and occasionally employed himself with some Holstein troops who were quartered at Oranienbaum.

The Empress was jealous of his great partiality for the King of Prussia, who was Peter's idol. He entertained an unbounded reverence for that Sovereign, with whom he was personally acquainted, and, by drawing comparisons between the Russian and Prussian troops, he was continually offending the former; nor would he take any part in the festivities which were observed to commemorate the victories of the Russians over the Prussian troops already alluded to; the Tzar even held a commission in the Prussian service, and, in his idolatry for Frederick, used to call him "the King, my master." Thus he, who was called upon to wear an imperial crown, declared himself the vassal of a king whose forces had been defeated by those of his own country; this excited

great indignation amongst the Russian troops, and entirely alienated them from him.

Peter hastened to inform Frederic of his accession to the throne of Russia, and a peace was soon concluded between the Courts of St. Petersburgh and Berlin, when everything was restored to the Prussians which had been captured by the Russian troops. This gave great offence to his subjects, and more particularly that, according to the same treaty, the two armies were united to act against the Austrians, under the immediate orders of the King, although Frederic did not avail himself of the aid of the Russian troops. By the Tzar's predilection for everything German, he highly offended the native military, particularly the Guards, whom he attempted to discipline in the Prussian fashion, himself appearing amongst them in the uniform of that country. But his principal military offence was that of disbanding the Preobajinski regiment of the Guards, whom the late Empress had so highly honoured after her accession to the throne. Whilst he was taking these measures to alienate the minds of the people in general, and especially of those bodies with whom it was his interest to live well, having affronted the army, irritated the clergy, and alienated his own family, without having left to himself any firm ground of authority, a most dangerous conspiracy was forming against him. The cruel punishments inflicted in Russia on state criminals, had only the effect to harden the minds of men, instead of to deter them from the most desperate undertakings; hence many of the great officers and first nobility of the empire engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone the Tzar, who was now universally hated, and, more fatal to him, universally despised; they, therefore, lent themselves to further the views of the

Empress, whose conduct had been always the very reverse of that of her consort. Catherine had endeavoured to set up a separate and independent interest in her own favour; she assiduously cultivated the affections of the Russian nation, and paid a respect to their manners and religion in the same degree that her husband seemed to contemn them.

Peter seems to have had a peculiar talent for creating to himself enemies, if it may be so said; for he next displeased the clergy by attempting such reforms, which even Peter the Great never attempted, even requiring them to cut off their beards. So intolerable was this order considered, that it was never complied with, but was openly resisted, and the Archbishop of Novogorod applied to the Tzar the appellation of heretic. He attempted to deprive the Archbishop of his dignity, which raised such a clamour amongst the people, that he was obliged to desist, and to put up with the insult of despised authority. Although Peter had conformed to the orthodox Greek church, yet he was suspected of leaning more towards Lutheranism; general murmurings were almost audible, both amongst the clergy and the laity, even in the short time that he had been on the throne of Russia. Such was the prelude of the storm which was soon to hurl him from it; but, what contributed most to his downfall, he published a solemn declaration to the empire of that which was already suspected, viz., that the Grand Duke, Paul Petrovitch, was not his son, and amongst his confidants he made no scruple to avow his intentions of sending him with the Empress, to be shut up in a fortress, and that he would adopt the captive, Ivan, for his heir. It is certain that he visited the castle of Schlusselburgh, on the pretence

of seeing Ivan, whom, it is said, he intended to transfer to Kesholme, and that he had given orders to build a new prison, which he intended for Catherine. In this way did Peter publicly disgrace himself, and covered with dishonour, not only his royal consort, but his own royal station and authority; furthermore, he disgusted his wife, by attaching himself to one of the ladies of her Court, the Countess Woronzoff, and by obliging Catherine to confer upon his favourite the order of St. Catherine, for which infidelity she never forgave him; and this incontinent step on the part of the Tzar, led to his tragical end, and to the most extraordinary events in the Russian annals, which events are seldom brought about without a singular concurrence of circumstances; and it will be found that in most of the great revolutions which have taken place in the history of mankind, they would have failed if they had been attempted at any other time than that which was calculated for their completion; but in this instance both the Tzar and the Tzarina had singularly concurred towards its end, the one to be destroyed, the other the destroyer.

Peter III. was hastening to his ruin, from actions partly good in themselves, but faulty by their precipitation. To dispossess the clergy of their immense riches, was an attempted act of great benefit to the nation, but too hazardous in its operation; it was with him a simple act of despotism, without any precautions to check the feelings of those superstitious bodies, who could excite their peasant slaves to revolt by seditious prayers and absolutions. The boldness of his innovations showed the imbecility of his attempts, since they could never be carried out. The impiety of the Tzar was loudly proclaimed by his contempt for the orthodox Greek faith.

It was commonly said, "The fear of the Lord is banished from the Russian Court. The Tzar is about to convert the churches into hospitals and barracks, and compel them to embrace the errors of Luther." This was communicated from the archimandrite to the priests, and from them to the people, which led them so easily to throw off their allegiance. Although Peter seems to have been indifferent to all religions, yet he had built a Lutheran chapel at Oranienbaum, and delighted to ridicule the Greek forms; he attempted to seize the revenues of the church, to make it dependent on the state, and to pension the clergy like other functionaries.

Discontent soon diffused itself throughout the regiments of the Guards, the real masters of the throne. Although Peter immediately, on the death of the Empress Elizabeth, presented himself to the Guards, and by their proclamation assumed despotically an absolute government, yet he offended the troops, who were long accustomed to the service of the palace, under the command of the female Sovereigns that had successively reigned. The Emperor now ordered them to march into Holstein, resolving to employ his newly-acquired power in avenging the injuries which his ancestors had received from Denmark, and to restore to his ancient country its former extent and independence; but what flattered him most with this expedition, was the expectation of an interview with the King of Prussia on the road, and arrangements were made for the meeting. On the eve of this intended expedition the whole city seemed to be occupied with feasting.

A licentious joy reigned in the palace. The time having arrived for going to join the army, and the Court, on the point of separating, was fearful of interrupting their

pleasures for a single day. The Russian nation was at this time indolent, gay, and dissolute; and though the mildness of the late reign had given some polish to the mind and some decency to the manners, yet the new Court was only refined as compared with the former state of society in Russia. Beautiful women overheated themselves with English beer; amidst the fumes of tobacco, overcome with fatigue, they would sometimes fall asleep on the sofas in the midst of their orgies. Foreign actresses and dancers were occasionally admitted to these public festivals; and when the ladies of the Court complained of this to the Emperor, through the medium of his mistress, he would answer, "that among women there was no distinction of rank," and, amidst the licentiousness of their revels, he could not refrain from expressing his contempt for them, by perpetual sneers and mockery.

The Court presented an extravagant mixture of grandeur and meanness, of justice and immorality; the former the Emperor would take into his own hands. He beat two of his greatest favourites who had sold the protection which his favour bestowed upon them, and took from them the money they had received. A stranger having arrived to inform him respecting certain seditious expressions which he had heard, Peter ordered the man to be punished, saying that he detested informers. To the festivities of the Court succeeded his military mania, which knew no bounds. He wanted to convey to his subjects the idea of a besieged city, and gave orders one day to have a hundred cannon fired off at the same instant; but this whim was repressed, when he was assured it would shatter the city to pieces. And such was his enthusiasm for the King of Prussia, that he would some-

times throw himself on his knees before his portrait, with a glass in his hand, and would exclaim—"My dear brother, we two will conquer the Universe." He would frequently shut himself up with the young women of the Court, with a drawn sword in his hand, a sentinel at the door. When thus employed, the High Chancellor of the Empire happened to come to him on business; he said to him—"Go and settle it with Prince George, you see I am on duty" (alluding to his uncle). Such was the conduct of the eccentric Peter; whilst Catherine, not participating in these Court festivals, and perfectly tranquil, both ridiculed and encouraged the follies of her husband.

Catherine took care, likewise, to ingratiate herself with the Guards, by telling them that the Emperor intended their disbandonment, and exiling their Chiefs; and likewise, when she saw an ecclesiastic, she bewailed his fate and that of the orthodox Church. No wiles were left untried by the crafty Tzarina to carry out her ambitious designs, whilst Peter was spending his time with his dissolute companions at Oranienbaum. He had recalled Soltikoff from abroad to prove the illegitimacy of the young Grand Duke, Paul Petrovitch, with a determined resolution of disowning him for his son; certain it is that he entertained some serious thoughts of recalling the unfortunate Ivan from captivity, and acknowledging him heir to the throne, for which purpose he had him conveyed to a fortress near St. Petersburgh, where he paid him a visit.

Peter insulted his wife both publicly and in private; he made no secret of his intention of repudiating her, and disinheriting her son. The ire of Catherine was now completely aroused against her husband, which

never slept; he had insulted her in every possible way. She felt, therefore, that she must attempt to dethrone him, in order to preserve her liberty and that of her son, and perhaps of her life, since the Tzar had publicly talked of shutting them up in the castle of Schlusselburgh. These indignities to the Tzarina, led to her attempt to the usurpation of her husband's throne, and to the bloody tragedy of its possessor, almost unparalleled in history, since to her ire succeeded disgust, hatred, and the desire for vengeance: her daring designs soon began to develop themselves, and it was said "she was more of a man than Peter the Third." A conspiracy was formed to dethrone the Emperor. Amongst the leading members of it was the Princess Daschkoff, of the Woronzoff family, a remarkable person, who was born at St. Petersburgh in 1774, at the time the Empress Elizabeth returned from her coronation; her Majesty held her at the baptismal font, and her nephew, Peter the third, was her godfather. This princess became the particular friend of the Empress, who had prevailed upon Potemkin to join the conspirators, a man so celebrated in the reign of Catherine as her favourite and great general; he might be deemed perhaps the most useful, from the great influence which he had with the Archbishop of Novogorod, and with the priests, all of whom he brought over.

Every eye was turned towards the Empress, who, during the obsequies of the late sovereign, had endeared herself to the people by a rigid devotion and scrupulous adherence to the formalities of the Greek religion. She ingratiated herself with the soldiers by putting condescending questions to them; to one of the sentinels she presented her hand to kiss. Every time she appeared

in court, to which she was sometimes compelled by the Emperor, she seemed to be under apprehension of violent treatment: in public, involuntary tears would occasionally roll down her cheeks, apparently in spite of all her efforts to restrain them.

She endeavoured thus to excite the compassion of the people in her favour; her emissaries circulated reports of the dangers to which she was exposed from the ill conduct of her husband; the Empress was observed in her solitary walks with an air of seriousness, but not of chagrin, and a penetrating eye might have detected on her countenance designs of the boldest nature: rumours were artfully fomented amongst the populace to dispose the minds of the people to rebellion, and the public in general anxiously looked for the moment when some great event was about to change the state of affairs, but of which they had but a very indistinct notion, it being announced on all sides that the destruction of the Empress was inevitable, and the partisans of Catherine did their utmost to increase her popularity; the Princess Daschkoff, one of her warmest friends, was always lauding her royal mistress at the court, by saying that she was a prodigy of learning as well as of goodness, in proof of which, and to increase her popularity with the Russian people, a pamphlet was caused to be privately circulated, which was said to have been written by Catherine when Grand Duchess. It was a small treatise or code of laws containing principles of legislation for Russia, founded on national rights, and on the claims of the different classes of the people, in which she proposed a committee of deputies to deliberate, but without authority, on different state affairs, and to inform the senate the result of their deliberations. It was much admired,

and passed for the work of her Majesty, obtaining for her great popularity.

Everything was done to favour the cause of the Empress; but a most important addition to her friends was Count Panine, governor of the young prince, who had before favoured her cause so far as to propose to dethrone the Emperor, and appoint Catherine Regent during the minority of her son; but this did not suit her ambitious designs. But the great leader of the conspiracy was Gregory Orloff, considered to be the handsomest man of the north. He had been appointed aide-de-camp to the grand master of artillery, and his brothers were serving as privates in the regiments of the Guards. For his intrigues against his general, he was disgraced from his situation, and the sentence of perpetual banishment to Siberia was about to be pronounced on him, when Catherine (then Grand Duchess) was appealed to; to her he owed his preservation, and he soon became her lover.

The intrigue was conducted by Catherine Ivanouwena, a favourite waiting-maid, who was alone in the secret; nor was it divulged until, as Empress, Orloff was raised to the height of royal favour. He was a man of daring courage and great muscular strength. His first accomplices in the conspiracy were his brothers, and an intimate friend named Bibokof. The Empress supplied them with money. They sowed the seeds of discontent and sedition in every regiment—they inspired them with pity for the Empress, and with the desire of living under her authority. They bought over two complete companies of the regiment of Guards Ismailof, with their Colonel, Count Rozamouski, once a simple Cossac, who, from the meanest occupation, had risen, by his brother's mar-

riage with the late Empress, to such a high degree of favour as to be the Hetman, or supreme commander of the Cossacs. He was a favourite with the Emperor, and much in his confidence, and he was well received at court, on account of his stately appearance and fine presence.

The conspiracy was artfully kept up by the numerous persons engaged in it, although they were partially divided amongst themselves as to the objects of it. Count Panine, who had been minister from his own court to that of Sweden for fourteen years, had there imbibed some republican ideas. The Princess Daschkoff was of the same opinion with him, as to limiting the power of the Sovereign whom they were seeking to elevate to the throne; but Orloff opposed their progress. He swore that he would by no means suffer them to impose any restrictions on their Sovereign; he said to them, "that the Empress giving her word that she would herself regulate the rights of their liberty, they were bound to believe her; that for what remained, they might act at their discretion; but he was master of the soldiery, that himself and the Guards would act alone if necessary, and were sufficient to raise her to the sovereignty."

The conspirators found themselves obliged to yield to the strong hand of power, and to content themselves with the vague promises made them by the Empress of confirming their liberty. In the meantime, the people were not neglected. A report was spread that revolt had broken out in some of the provinces, that the Krim Tartars were encamped on the frontier, and that the Emperor was going to lead out the troops to a war, foreign to Russia. Where the government had become odious, such reports were eagerly believed, which was a

commencement of the revolt, since in Russia public affairs were never conversed upon except under the penalty of death. The Emperor had further offended his subjects by refusing to go to Moscow, to be there crowned, according to the ancient custom, in the chapel of the Tzars; and it was almost openly published as lawful to dethrone a Sovereign who disdained to submit to the ceremony of coronation. Some of the foreign ministers, especially the French ambassador, the Baron de Breteuil, embraced eagerly the objects of the conspirators, although by positive orders from their courts they dare not take part in their movements. All the states of Europe had been alarmed at the project of Peter, who, at the head of a hundred thousand Russians, was about to march to Holstein, but in reality to be governed by the King of Prussia, whose fanatical admirer he was, and whose united force might prove dangerous to the liberties of Europe. There were others who were friendly to the Emperor's intentions; they had succeeded in their negotiations for accelerating it, and congratulated themselves on their success. They saw the troops file off in every direction, and the fleet ready to sail, the Emperor surrounded with the whole force of his empire, and the day for his departure already fixed; but there were other conspiracies against Peter, besides that in which the Tzarina was engaged. Passing, a captain of the Guards, and Baschekakof, a low fellow, conspired against their Sovereign.

The former threw himself at the feet of the Empress, and asked permission to stab him at the head of his regiment at noon-day; but assassination was not the mode intended to get rid of Peter III., who used to retire with his mistress occasionally of an evening to the

cottage of Peter the Great. A band of conspirators, conducted by Count Panine, had been to reconnoitre the Tzar's apartments, having finally determined to come hither in force some evening and carry him off, to stab him if he made any resistance, and to assemble the grandees, in order to give to his deposition some appearance of legal authority; but the Empress took no part in their plans, and, although she was invisible in the grand conspiracy which was now about to burst on the head of the devoted Emperor, yet she directed all the springs of it, and she sought to receive, through the voluntary and unanimous prayers of the people, the rights which no title could convey to her.

The Emperor spent his time principally at Oranienbaum, a beautiful situation at the top of the heights: it was built by the celebrated Menzikoff, and upon his disgrace the property fell to the Crown. Here Peter had spent the days of his youth; he was very partial to this castle, on which a fortress had been built with ramparts scarcely six feet high, merely to convey to him an idea of fortification, but not for any purpose of defence. With the same view an arsenal had been built, in which was collected a cabinet of military curiosities; among them were preserved the most glorious trophies of the Empire —the standards taken from the Swedes and Prussians. The Emperor had here with him three thousand men of his own troops of Holstein. Opposite was the town and harbour of Cronstadt, where was a great part of the fleet ready to sail for Holstein, well provided and fully manned, under the immediate command of the Emperor; the other part of the fleet was at Revel, situated farther off upon the same Gulf. At this castle Peter spent the greater part of his time, amidst buffoons

from foreign countries, the companions of his orgies, who made the Russian courtiers the subjects of their sarcasms and ridicule; he inspired with terror those who were esteemed by the Empress. Under all circumstances, therefore, it is not to be wondered at that Catherine should conspire against him.

Peter was frequently cautioned against this conspiracy; even his great ally, the King of Prussia, gave him several hints on the subject in his letters. Both the English and Prussian Ambassadors warned him, but with that fatuity which seemed to have pervaded the two regents of Russia in their fall, the Tzar slighted every caution, and rested in his fancied security. One of the conspirators, the Hetman of the Cossacs, Rozamouski, was in the confidence of the Emperor, and about his person, by whom he was assured that there was nothing to apprehend; and Peter was thus led on to his final destruction. Various periods were fixed upon for his dethronement; amongst others, was that of his intended departure with the army which he was about to employ against the Danes. But this was attended with great difficulty, such as the risk of his returning at the head of his troops, and re-taking the throne by conquest. During this time the great conspirator, Catherine, was maturing the plan for usurping the throne of her husband: at length, the time arrived for putting it succesfully into execution. The conspirators had agreed that on the day of the festival of St. Paul and St. Peter (one of the most important in the Greek church), that the Tzar should be seized, and transferred from a throne to a dungeon.

During this time, the Tzar remained inactive as to taking any measures against the conspirators; he was

frequently informed of what was plotting against him, which he treated with the utmost contempt, saying, that no one dared to conspire against the grandson of Peter the Great. He neglected the advice of the King of Prussia, and, what was more extraordinary, placed under arrest those who came to tell him of the conspiracies forming against him. Previously to the Tzar's leaving Russia for Holstein, to prosecute the Danish war, and the army was under orders to march, a grand fête was to be celebrated at Peterhoff, in which both the Emperor and Empress were to assist, but on this day the plot was to burst which accident accelerated.

One of the conspirators, Passing, was denounced by his superior officer to the Emperor, as being engaged in a conspiracy against his royal authority; the Tzar treated it with contempt, and said, "He is some madman;" yet the culprit was placed under arrest, and ordered to be narrowly watched. Peter, despising Passing, who belonged to the dregs of the people, took no pains to investigate the charge against him, but proceeded to Oranienbaum with his dissolute companions, to spend the night there previously to the grand fête taking place at Peterhoff on the following day. Passing found means to write to the Hetman, saying that not a moment was to be lost if they wished to save their lives; the letter was conveyed to the Princess Daschkoff, who immediately went to the conspirators; she first ran to Count Panine, then to Gregory Orloff, when the latter determined to act on the instant. The presence of Catherine was indispensable; she was then at Peterhoff, and, although it was midnight, he dispatched his brother, Alexis, to bring the Empress to St. Petersburgh, a distance of twelve versts.

The conspirators spent the night in preparing for the insurrection, and everything was so well arranged, that on the arrival of the Empress there was no fear of their being betrayed by any accidental explosion. Should their plot miscarry, they had secured Catherine's flight to Sweden. Orloff and his friend loaded each of them a pistol, swearing never to make use of the weapon in the most imminent danger, and if the enterprise failed to put each other to death. The Empress had remained at Peterhoff to be ready for the fête, and was lodged in a small pavilion apart from the palace, under the pretence of leaving to the Emperor the free use of all the apartments, as if her presence might incommode the Tzar and his court. Alexis had been instructed by his brother as to the most intricate windings of the garden to the pavilion; he arrived at two o'clock in the morning, and found the Empress asleep, when, suddenly awaking her from her repose, said, on her first surprise at being roused, "Madam! there is not a moment to lose—come;" he quitted her and disappeared.

Catherine started at the sight of the rude soldier, but soon apprehended her situation, nor was her surprise unmixed with terror; she called one of her women, Catherine Ivanowena, and both of them hastily attired themselves, when Alexis returned, and said, "Your carriage is ready," and they followed him involuntarily to the gate of the park; they passed the sentinel without being recognised, and stepped into the carriage that was waiting for them. Through the care of the Princess Daschkoff, this had been for some time provided, lest from the impatience of the guards the conspiracy should break out, so that the Empress might possess the means

of escaping from all danger, relays of horses having been secured as far as the neighbouring frontier.

The carriage was driven by peasants, with eight horses; they perceived at a distance a carriage coming with great rapidity on the same road which led to where the Emperor was. This greatly alarmed them, but it was Gregory Orloff, to meet his royal mistress, who, after crying out to her "Everything is ready," led the way to the capital, the Empress and her attendants following him. In this dignified manner did the future Sovereign of Russia arrive at St. Petersburgh, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, having set out on the bare word of a soldier, driven by peasants, conducted by her lover, and accompanied by her waiting-women. Orloff conducted the Empress to the barracks occupied by the Ismailoff guards. Catherine alighted on the road, whilst her conductor ran to announce her arrival; the soldiers had not yet left their rooms, but about thirty of them came out in dishabille; some in their frocks, some in their shirts, to receive their future Sovereign, who was evidently astonished. She grew pale and was much agitated, but soon resumed her courage, and told them "that she came to throw herself into their arms, that the Emperor had given orders to put herself and her son to death, and that the assassins had already set out to execute this order."

They all swore with one voice to die in her defence; the officers assembled, the crowd increased, and the chaplain of the regiment was sent for with orders to bring a crucifix, on which he received the oaths of the soldiers, then arrived the Hetman Rozamouski and some nobles of distinction, all devoted to the Empress. Some one in the crowd proclaimed the Empress "Regent," when Or-

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loff ran towards them, exclaiming, "That the work must not be done by halves, and the first who should pronounce the word *regency* he would stab with his own hands."

The Empress walked through the ranks of each of the three regiments of foot guards, so formidable to the sovereigns of Russia, instituted by Peter the Great of strangers, for his security against the factions of his subjects; from that period they had been materially augmented, and were now composed entirely of Russians, with whom rested the disposal of the crown. The three regiments joined in the cry of "hurra!" in favour of the Empress, and asked leave to kiss her hand. They thought the enterprise was finished, but Catherine assured them that there was yet a great deal to be done, and that at that time she had other affairs on hand. Prince George of Holstein, the Emperor's uncle, was informed of the insurrection by an aide-de-camp, but whilst he was dressing he was put under arrest, with all his family.

The Empress, now surrounded by ten thousand men, was conducted in her carriage to the principal church of the city, where she alighted to perform her devotions; from thence she went to the Winter Palace, which was surrounded with soldiers, so far as it could be done, where cannons were planted at every opening, to prevent any surprise. Measures were immediately taken for her being proclaimed "Empress of all the Russias," by the style and title of Catherine II. The whole city was in an uproar; reports were industriously circulated that she had just escaped assassination from her husband's partisans; the crowd rapidly multiplied, and the ignorant people, following their leaders, joined in

the cry of "Long live Catherine, our mother!" A printed manifesto, which one of the conspirators had concealed for several days, under the most deadly apprehensions of being apprehended by the agents of the Tzar's government, was now issued amongst the people, saying, "That the Empress Catherine II., yielding to the prayers of her people, had mounted the throne of her beloved country to save it from ruin."

The inhabitants of the capital who were not in the secret, awoke on this eventful morning of the 9th July, to find themselves in the midst of a revolution, of which, knowing nothing of the cause, they could scarcely comprehend the end; but as Peter had completely disgusted his subjects, they readily joined to conspire against his government. There was but one man found faithful to him, Bressan, of a family originally from Russia, but naturalized in France, whom the Emperor had taken from his profession of a hair-dresser to raise him to the highest fortune; and on this occasion he proved his fidelity to his royal master, by dispatching to him a servant of some ability, disguised as a peasant to avoid suspicion, to inform him of what was going on.

The Empress immediately sent an officer with a numerous escort to the palace, where the Grand Duke Paul slept; the child awoke surrounded with soldiers, and expressed symptoms of terror, which lasted for a long time. His governor, Panine, who till this moment had remained with him, endeavoured to dispel his apprehensions; he took him in his arms, dressed in his night clothes as he was, and carried him to his mother, who, from a balcony, thus presented him before the soldiery and the people. Their acclamations were redoubled at the sight of the Grand Duke; they threw their caps in

the air with the greatest enthusiasm, when scarcely any of them knew precisely what they were about, not even twenty persons in the palace; a vague rumour was spread that the Emperor was dead, but no one could tell whether he was really alive or not; they joined in the acclamations, believing that the Grand Duke was Emperor, and that his mother was only regent.

All the Grandees flocked to the palace, where they beheld the celebration of solemn mass, the priests receiving the oaths of fidelity, and the Empress practising every art to win adherents over to her cause; a tumultuous council was held, as to what course she should pursue, who took care, amongst the people and the soldiery, to distribute beer and brandy liberally, and they paid her for it in the most tumultuous acclamations. Catherine, well acquainted with the superstitions of the people, and that nothing would be held sacred in their eyes without a religious ceremony, lost no time to take the usual oaths on an accession to maintain the rights and the religion of the Russians—for which purpose she went to the Cathedral of "Kasan," where everything was prepared for her reception. She was accompanied by an immense cortêge of troops; the Archbishop of Novogorod, arrayed in his sacerdotal robes, attended by a great number of priests, stood at the altar to receive the Empress; the same Archbishop whom Peter had formerly deposed and restored to his dignities; he set the Imperial crown on her head, and proclaimed her, in a loud voice, "Sovereign and Autocratrix of all the Russias, under the name of Catherine II., and the Grand Duke Paul Petrovitch her successor." When this ceremony was over, she dressed herself in the uniform of the Guards, decorated with the ribbon of the first order of the

Empire, mounted on horseback, with a drawn sword in her hand and an oaken wreath around her temples, and accompanied by the Princess Daschkoff, similarly dressed and likewise mounted on horseback, the Empress rode round the grand square, announcing to the troops that she intended to be their General. Thus did this young and beautiful woman, by her smiling and intrepid air, in a toilet of the martial style, fascinate the multitude and win their confidence, and before the day was over she was firmly established on the throne of Russia, without one drop of blood having been shed during this extraordinary revolution.

Every precaution was taken to prevent the news reaching the Emperor of what was going on at St. Petersburgh, but Bressan's messenger succeeded in reaching his royal master, with the intelligence that he had ceased to reign. Peter was in the meantime in fancied security at Oranienbaum, where the court then was, and he was to proceed to Peterhoff on that day to celebrate the festival of the saint whose name he bore; he set out gaily from the palace, accompanied by his mistress, by the Prussian minister, and by a selection of the finest women of his court.

They were all animated by the expected pleasures of the festival, and when they arrived at Peterhoff everything was in confusion: the Empress had fled, and the only information to be obtained was from the sentinel, that he had seen two ladies go out of the park about four o'clock in the morning. As the Emperor approached, he was met by his favourite aide-de-camp, Goudowitz, who whispered something into his ear, at which the Emperor grew pale, and said, "Let me be set down." Perceiving that they were near one of the park gates, he

ordered the ladies to alight, and told them to join him at the castle by the alleys of the park, at which they were much surprised and alarmed, more particularly when they saw the Emperor drive off with full speed, accompanied by a few men, towards the apartments of the Empress. Here they carefully examined under the bed, they opened the closets, during which time the courtiers kept a profound silence, fearing to incense their sovereign by alarming him—suspecting the fatal truth, not only as to the flight of the Empress, but as to the results that must follow; even the domestics, instructed by the peasants, knew what was going on, although the Court was profoundly ignorant of it.

Just at this period, a peasant, taking advantage of the general confusion, entered, and making the usual signs of the cross and prostrations before the Emperor, he drew a billet from his bosom, and put it into his hands, with his eyes lifted up to Heaven. Every one immediately surrounded the Emperor in silence and uncertainty, who, having cast his eyes over the billet, read it aloud:—"The regiments of the Guards are under arms, the Empress is at their head; nine o'clock strikes, she is entering the church of Kasan; all the people appear to follow this movement, and the faithful subjects of your Majesty do not appear." Immediately the High Chancellor, Woronzoff, having spoken of his influence over the minds of the people, and also over that of the Empress, proposed going to St. Petersburgh to check, if possible, the revolution; this was assented to by the Emperor; but, on his arrival, he joined the cause of the Empress, and became one of her warmest partisans. Peter flew about like a madman, giving all sorts of orders, amongst others, that the Empress should be

instantly put to death; he frequently called for drink, which increased his madness, and made him almost furious. The Emperor sent orders for his Holstein troops to come to him immediately, with their field-pieces; he dictated two long manifestoes, filled with the most bitter invectives, and employed a great number of his courtiers in transcribing them, and the hussars to give them circulation.

The whole court traversed the gardens, and were in the greatest consternation. Marshal Munich alone stood firm and undisturbed; he had hitherto preserved silence; but wishing, if possible, to save his benefactor, he endeavoured to reason with him on the necessity of departing immediately for Cronstadt, to avoid being taken prisoner by the Empress, who was rapidly marching towards Peterhoff at the head of twenty thousand men; that Cronstadt presented to the Emperor both safety and victory; that it contained a numerous garrison, and a fleet ready for sea; that with this force he might oppose the Empress, and make St. Petersburgh tremble. This sage advice revived the drooping spirits of Peter and his followers, and it was resolved to act upon it. In the meantime, the Holstein troops had arrived, which altered the Tzar's resolution, and he was desirous to bring them into action; he looked about even to see how he could defend the heights of Peterhoff, as though he could resist the overwhelming force coming against him. But whilst Peter was so doing, some hussars arrived, saying, that in the capital every thing had yielded to the Empress, and that she was on the road with an immense force; then an aide-de-camp came, in post haste, to confirm this intelligence, and that she might be soon expected. There was now no

time to lose, and the Emperor, followed by his whole court, hurried to the water side, and threw themselves on board two yachts which had been moored there, and the expedient which Munich suggested was followed from fear.

In the meantime, the Empress, at St. Petersburgh, had been following up her active measures by having the troops file off to march against the Emperor. She re-entered her palace, and dined close to an open window which looked towards the square, from whence she repeatedly saluted the troops, who answered her by loud acclamations. She then remounted her horse, and departed at the head of her army.

A manifesto was issued, announcing Catherine's accession to the throne, a copy of which was sent to all the Foreign ministers; it was dated July 6, 1762, and concluded as follows:—"It is thus, without shedding one drop of blood, that we have ascended the Russian throne, by the assistance of God and the approving suffrages of our beloved country, humbly obeying the decrees of Divine Providence. We assure our faithful subjects that we will not fail, by night nor by day, to invoke the Most High to bless our sceptre, and to enable us to wield it to the maintenance of our orthodox religion, the security and defence of our dear country, and the equal administration of justice, as well as to put an end to all miseries, iniquities, and violences, by strengthening and fortifying our heart for the public good; not entertaining the least doubt, that all our loving subjects, as well for the salvation of their souls as for the honour of religion, will invariably observe the oath they have taken in the presence of Almighty God; and we hereby assure them of our imperial favour." The people aban-

doned themselves to an intoxication of joy and all sorts of excesses; the taverns were given up to them, and they were led in their delirium to forget the atrocity of the conspiracy.

When the troops with the Empress had left the capital, it was too late to make much progress that day; her Majesty, therefore, took a few hours' repose at a castle on the road. The Holstein troops, on the embarkation of the Emperor, had received orders to return to Oranienbaum, so that Peterhoff was left undefended. The people on the road armed themselves as well as they could with scythes and pitch-forks, in a state of great confusion, not knowing what they were to do, under the command of the Hussars assembled there, who arrived about five o'clock in the morning, knocking the poor fellows about with the flat sides of their sabres, crying aloud, "Long live the Empress;" the army then advanced without obstacle, and Catherine entered as Sovereign where twenty-four hours before she had gone out as a fugitive. The Empress slept at Peterhoff, and the next morning her levee was crowded with the confidants and the courtiers of the Emperor, who hastened to hail the rising sun, and to prostrate their faces in the dust before the new Sovereign, who received them with the most fascinating kindness; thus adding to her adherents those who had been formerly her opponents. The Tzar and his Court, on arriving at Cronstadt, found the guns of the fortress turned against them; the Governor had been corrupted by the emissaries of Catherine, and had declared in her favour.

The yachts did not arrive until ten o'clock, and when they were challenged the reply was, "The Emperor," to which they answered, "There is no Emperor." Peter

then opened his cloak and shewing his order said, "Do you not know me?" and prepared to come on shore; but the sentinels presented their bayonets at him, and threatened the Commander of the yacht if he did not retire they would immediately fire; they had scarcely time to unmoor and be off, for which they were obliged to cut the cables, and they left the shore amidst the shouts of the multitude, "Long live the Empress;" when the Emperor said weeping, "The plot is general, I have seen the conspiracy from the first day of my reign," he went down more dead than alive to the cabin below, where his mistress and her father were the only two persons to follow him.

The galleys when out of cannon's reach stopped, the men lying upon their oars. Munich was on deck quietly contemplating the calm beauty of the evening; the Emperor at length called him into the cabin and said, "Field-marshal, I ought to have followed your advice sooner, but, under present circumstances, what is there for me still further to do?" Munich replied that nothing was lost; he must push on immediately to Revel, take a ship of war and sail for Prussia, where his army was, to re-enter his states at the head of eighty thousand men, and he pledged himself in six weeks to give him back his Empire in a state of subjection. But this advice was overruled by others of the Tzar's followers, who represented that the rowers had not strength sufficient to take them to Revel, and they said it did not become so powerful an Emperor to depart from his kingdom in a single vessel; that it was impossible the whole nation had revolted against him; and that, without doubt, this commotion was intended to effect a reconciliation between him and his wife.

Peter then made up his mind to attempt this reconciliation; he ordered himself to be landed at Oranienbaum, his domestics hastened to receive him, and melted to tears, to whom he said, "My children, all is over with us." He soon learnt that the Empress was already at hand, and he resolved to fly in disguise until he should reach Poland, and ordered one of his fleetest horses to be saddled for him, but from this he was dissuaded by his mistress; the agitation of his mind reduced him to a state of indecision, and he abandoned this plan likewise; his last decision was to seek the Empress' permission that he may depart for Holstein.

He then gave orders to dismantle everything which might look like defence; he ordered the soldiers to make no resistance, that the cannon should be dismantled, and the troops disbanded. "What," said the gallant Munich, "do you not know how to die like an Emperor at the head of your troops?" But Peter's determination was at length fixed, and he wrote to his wife, saying, that he resigned to her the Empire of Russia, and asking her permission to retire into the Duchy of Holstein, in company with his mistress and his favourite aide-de-camp; his Chamberlain took charge of the letter, and those of his courtiers, as many as could find small boats, threw themselves on board, eager to abandon their fallen master, and to swell the train of the new Sovereign.

The Empress in reply sent him a communication to sign couched in the following terms—"During the short period of my unlimited government of the Russian Empire, I have clearly discovered that my powers were not sufficient to support so vast a burden, and that it was a task above my ability to rule that Empire, not merely as a Sovereign, but in any manner whatever. I have

likewise perceived the convulsion it has undergone, which must have issued in its total ruin, and at the same time have overwhelmed me in eternal disgrace. After mature deliberation on the subject, I declare without compulsion, and in the most solemn manner, to the Empire of Russia and to all the world, that I renounce for my whole life the government of the said Empire, not wishing to reign over it, either as a Sovereign, or under any other form of government, and without ever aspiring to attain to it by any assistance whatever. In testimony of which I take an oath before God and the whole Universe, having written and subscribed this renunciation with my own hand."

The city of St. Petersburgh had been in a state of anxious expectation after the departure of the Empress. Fearing that the Emperor might still have many partisans there, the foreigners were not without terror, and they were under dreadful apprehensions of the fury, or the licentiousness, of the soldiery. The return of the Empress to the capital was a triumph, when crowds of people flocked to her saloons, tendering their homage of loyalty, amongst whom was the gallant Munich. The Empress said to him, "You had a wish to fight against me. "Yes, madam," he replied; "and now it is my duty to fight in your cause." Catherine manifested the greatest kindness towards him, and took him into her service.

The Chamberlain, who had taken up this renunciation of Peter to the throne, returned immediately with orders to make the soldiers of Holstein lay down their arms, which they did with marks of great indignation, and were made prisoners; the unfortunate Peter was likewise made prisoner and sent off to Peterhoff, where, it is said, the attendants stripped him of his different orders,

and that they found about his person several diamonds and pieces of jewellery—they even went so far as to take off his clothes, and, after remaining some time in his shirt, the fallen monarch was left barefoot, and subjected to the insults of an insolent soldiery—they then threw over him an old morning gown, and locked him in his apartment. The unfortunate Peter was soon after removed to a retreat about thirty versts from St. Petersburgh, called Robschak, previously to his being sent (as he thought) to Germany. When requesting this favour of Catherine, he added, "being now disgusted with the wickedness of mankind, he resolved to devote himself to a philosophical life." Some few favours were asked by him of the Empress, that she would send him a favourite negro, his attendant, a dog, his violin, his Bible, and a few romances; these were all refused him, and he was treated with the utmost contempt: in the meantime, the plot was being continued which terminated the Tzar's existence.

On the 10th of July, at seven o'clock in the evening, the deposed Sovereign was entirely forgotten, and Catherine reigned as though she had been for many years in possession of the throne. On the 12th, she met the senate. The whole revolution was accomplished, and she was established on the throne without shedding of blood, in these three days, when a legitimate Sovereign of Russia had been deposed by a German princess. Catherine liberally rewarded the conspirators. The Orloffs were raised to the dignity of counts, and Gregory Orloff was made chief of the artillery, his brothers also having high military rank. Panine likewise received the title of count, with a pension of 5000 roubles. The Princess Daschkoff, instead of a pension,

received 24,000 roubles, with which she paid her husband's debts. She was likewise decorated by the Empress' own hand, with the order of St. Catherine. Count Rozamouski and Prince Wolehouski received pensions of 5,000 roubles. The rest of the conspirators of the first class, had 600 peasants each, and 2,000 roubles' pension.

But shortly after this eventful revolution in the Russian government, the soldiers recovered themselves somewhat from the suddenness of it, and were quite ashamed at what they had done—namely, dethroning a grandson of Peter the Great, and giving the Crown to a foreign woman, who had no claim whatever on their loyalty beyond that of his wife, which she had so shamefully broken; they were filled with remorse, and reproached each other for their baseness. The sailors, who had taken no part in the revolution, quarrelled with the guards, saying, "that they had sold their Emperor for beer," and a party of them attacked the guards of the Empress, at which she was much alarmed. On the following morning a serious commotion took place, assisted by the military. Catherine saw that no quiet was to be expected until her husband was secured, and she took her measures accordingly.

The security of the Tzar's person was of great consequence to Catherine, and he was committed to the charge of Baratinski, at Robschak, on whom she knew she could depend. On the sixth day after his imprisonment, he was visited by Alexis Orloff, attended by an officer named Teploff, who insinuated themselves into his good graces by abusing the Empress, and promising him speedy deliverance from his captivity. They so completely imposed on the fallen monarch, that he invited them to

dine with him. He little suspected whom he was about to entertain, and, relying on their promise to release him from captivity, Peter entertained his guests according to the Russian custom, of introducing wine and brandy before dinner. The officers, whilst amusing him with some trifling discourse, filled the glasses, and poured a poisonous mixture into that which was intended for the Tzar, who, without any distrust, swallowed the potion, on which he immediately experienced the most severe pains, and, on being offered a second glass, he refused it, reproaching Orloff with what he had given him. He then called aloud for milk, but the two monsters again offered him poison. His French valet came immediately into the room; Peter threw himself into his arms, saying, "It was not enough to deprive me of my Crown; but I must be put to death."

The valet interceded for his master; but the two miscreants forced him out of the room, and continued their ill treatment of the poor captive. Orloff had already thrown him down, and was pressing upon his breast with both his knees, firmly grasping his throat with his hands. The unhappy sovereign now struggled with that strength which arises from despair, when Baratinski, the governor of the prison, entered the room and threw a napkin around his neck, and, with the aid of Orloff, they put an end to the Tzar's life by suffocation.

It has been stated by some historians, that Catherine was not only privy to the death of her husband, but had even ordered his execution to take place; but the contrary is most satisfactorily proved by a letter now existing, written to her by Alexis Orloff immediately after perpetrating this dreadful tragedy; the style and incoherence of which mark strongly the terrors and appre-

hensions of the culprit, whilst he solicits pardon for the act in the most supplicating language. This important letter was preserved by Catherine, amongst other documents of importance, in a casket which, at her death, by order of the Emperor Paul, her successor, Prince Bresborodka was appointed to examine, and to read the papers which it contained in his presence. When he had finished reading the letter of Alexis Orloff, Paul, making the sign of the cross, exclaimed, "God be praised, the few doubts I had on the subject relative to my mother are now dissipated!" The Empress and Madame Nelidoff were present, and it was commanded by the Emperor that it should be read aloud to the Grand Dukes and Count Rostopchin.

When this letter was brought to the Empress the Princess Daschkoff was present, to whom she immediately exclaimed, "My horror at this death is inexpressible—it is a blow which strikes me to the earth!" To which the Princess replied, "It is a death too sudden for your glory and for mine."

Count Panine, her minister, was immediately sent for, when the Empress immediately informed him that the Emperor was dead, placing in his hands the letter from Alexis Orloff, and consulted with him what to do about announcing her husband's demise to the public. The Count advised her to let one night pass over, and to spread the news the next day as if it had been received during the night. The Empress shut herself up in her apartments for several days, and showed marks of the greatest grief during that time; and soon after the following proclamation was published on the part of the Empress:—

"We, Catherine II., by the grace of God, Empress and

Autocratrix of all the Russias, the seventh day after our accession to the throne, have received advice that the former Emperor, Peter III., was attacked with violent cholic, occasioned by an accidental hemorrhage to which he was liable. Not to be wanting in our Christian duty, according to the holy commandment by which we are under the obligation to preserve the life of our neighbour, we immediately ordered to be sent to him all that was necessary, to prevent the dangerous consequences which might result by this accident, and that he may be well assisted with the aid of medicine. But to our great regret and affliction we received yesterday evening advice, that by permission of the Almighty, the late Emperor had departed this life. We, therefore, order that his body be transported to the Nevski Monastery to be there interred; in the mean time, we request and exhort all our faithful subjects to render him the last honours, and to pray sincerely to God for the repose of his soul, seeing at the same time by his unsuspected end the decree of Divine Providence, who by his impenetrable designs prepares for us and for our throne, and for all the country, decrees known only to the holy will. Given at St. Petersburg, the 17th July, 1762."

The corpse was brought to St Petersburgh the next day, and, in order to allay all suspicion of the cause of the Tzar's death, his remains were ordered to lie in state at the Monastery, where it was exposed to the people dressed in the uniform of a General of the Holstein Guards; the Russians have a custom, when they visit the corpse, to kiss the mouth of their deceased monarchs, but they were not allowed to go too close on the present occasion. The body had been prepared by the surgeons in such a manner as to leave no traces of

violent death—rumours of which were rife amongst the multitude.

The Tzar's remains were deposited in a grave near the altar rails, adjoining those of the departed Regent, and the place of sepulture was never distinguished by tomb or inscription. On the day of interment, some riots took place amongst the people; pity for their murdered Sovereign pleaded irresistibly in every heart; they abused the soldiery for having basely shed the last drop of blood of Peter the Great. The principal mourners were the Holstein Guards that had remained at Oranienbaum, who attended the funeral, weeping over the corpse of their master, and lamenting his unhappy fate; the Russians took part with them in their grief, and cordially sympathized with those with whom they had formerly been in collision; the following day, orders were sent that they should be all embarked for their own country.

Peter III., though born to an empire, was never fitted for it. The defects of his nature were suffered to remain in him uncorrected by education, which had been shamefully neglected in his youth. They gave him flatterers for friends, and buffoons for companions; in childhood, they treated him as a man, and in manhood, they amused him like a child. His intentions were good, though his understanding was weak; his condescension and generosity to his subjects deserved a better fate than the cruel catastrophe which so sullies the pages of Russian history.

Catherine immediately published a long manifesto, scandalizing the short reign of her husband as that of an imbecile, who had endeavoured to impeach the legitimacy of his son, in order to exclude him from the throne. Thus perished miserably Peter the Third, in the thirty-

fifth year of his age, after only a six months' rule over the Russian Empire, the most unfortunate Sovereign that had yet appeared in the annals of that country. His birth was the only tie which bound him to Russia. By education and the want of talent he was totally unfit to govern so great an Empire, since he brought with him prejudices, instead of sympathies with a people of whom he was not only ignorant, but whom he utterly contemned and despised. The opening of his career shewed a sunshine of promise, which was too soon obscured by the darkest errors; he lent himself strenuously to correct the abuses of the state; he patronised Commerce, Sciences, and the Arts; he received their petitions from the people, and took the pains to see that justice was done them; and he received with dignity the foreign ambassadors, which proved him capable of adorning his high station. The people were charmed with their new Sovereign; but he soon fell fron his high estate to the degraded level of boon companions, from a throne to a prison, from a monarch to a victim of usurpation and murder, to make way for a Sovereign whose reign is one of the most memorable periods in the history of Europe of the Eighteenth Century.

## CHAPTER III.

Catherine II.—her Accession—Acknowledged by Foreign Courts—her Judicious Policy—Recalling Exiles from Siberia—her Foreign Relations and Active Administration—Conspiracies against her Government—Ivan III.—Attempts to Rescue him from his Captivity—is Assassinated—The Empress Crowned at Moscow—Coolly Received by the People—Early Return to St. Petersburgh—The Empress and the Grand Duke Inoculated for the Smallpox—Arrival from London of Dr. Thomas Dimsdale and his Son at St. Petersburgh—they Dine with the Empress—Her Majesty's Imperial Magnificence to the Doctor—Orders a Survey of the Empire—Alarming Conspiracies against the Empress—Catherine's Munificence to the Arts and Sciences—Invites Foreign Professors—Letter to Count Orloff on the subject of Astronomy—Seeks to Reform the Laws of Russia—Sends for Deputies to Moscow from all parts of the Empire—Publishes the "Code Catherine"—Complimentary Encomiums addressed to Her Majesty—Invites Emigrants to people the Dreary Wastes of Russia—Their numerous Arrivals—Conspiracy to carry Her and Count Orloff from Moscow—Their Return to St. Petersburgh—Grand Processions in the Capital—Policy of the Empress with Foreign Courts—her Protection of Foreign Commerce—The Russian Merchants present Her Majesty with a Carriage—Foreigners' Respect for the great Sovereign of the North—Marriage of the Grand Duke—the Death of his Wife—his Visit to Berlin—Speech to the Great Frederick—the King's Reply—The Grand Duke's second Marriage—An Imperial Ukase regulates the Internal Government of the Provinces—Regulates the Affairs of Religion—Prohibits the Admission of any Foreign Ecclesiastical Authority—Bulls, or Papal Rescripts—Divides the Empire into Governments—Pays superstitious respect to the Priests—Joins in Religious Processions at Moscow—Pougatcheff's Rebellion—Its alarming Progress—Defeats the Imperial Troops—Various Successes of the Rebels—Proclaims

himself Peter III.—Coinage—Establishes Cannon Founderies—An enormous Reward offered for the Capture of Pougatcheff—He is at length Defeated—Sent to Moscow, and Beheaded—Banks established—Military Enthusiasm of the People—Catherine's respect for Religion—Flatters the Superstitions of the Church—Foreign Policy of the Empress—Dictates a King to Poland—makes the Tour of some part of her Provinces.

CATHERINE II. ascended the throne of Russia on the 28th July, 1762, and was crowned at the cathedral church of Kasan, at St. Petersburgh, as already related. Her accession was immediately notified to the different Sovereigns of Europe, by whom she was acknowledged as the legitimate ruler of all the Russias; they even hastened to fraternize with her as such. On the day that she was proclaimed in the capital, she made her triumphal entry through the city on horseback, surrounded by her friends, the conspirators. The crowd formed into lines as the Empress passed, and, with that condescension so winning to those classes, her Majesty permitted them to kiss her hand as she rode through the ranks. No one knew better than Catherine how to win the hearts of the multitude, as well as of the upper classes; she held her court with that easy and graceful dignity for which she was so distinguished, and addressed the foreign ambassadors, at their audience of congratulation, in a way to charm all around her.

The Empress' first care was to reward those who had so zealously assisted her to the imperial dignity. Count Panine was installed as prime minister, although he had for some time resisted her usurpation of the sovereignty. Gregory Orloff, as already related, was appointed grand master of the artillery, and was decorated with the order of St. Alexander Nevski; whilst his brothers were

created Counts, and had high military rank conferred upon them; some of the officers of the Guards were promoted, and twenty-four of them obtained considerable estates—the Princess Daschkoff had conferred upon her the order of St. Catherine. The Empress laboured much to gain the confidence of the people—her policy was to propitiate her enemies, the friends of the late Emperor. She gave her confidence to those who had served Peter III. faithfully; nor would she employ strangers in preference to natives, which had been so much the custom in the preceding reigns. She recalled from exile many great men who had been banished during the former revolutions, and a vast number of prisoners were released from captivity; so that many persons sprang up from the frozen deserts of Siberia, who were supposed to be dead, so completely had they been forgotten.

Bestuchoff, Elizabeth's chancellor, was recalled, and reinstated in his appointments, with a large pension awarded him for the services which he had rendered to Catherine when Grand Duchess. The uncle of her husband, the Duke of Holstein, and who was thought to have favoured Peter's designs against Catherine, although he was arrested during the period of the revolution, yet was immediately released by the Empress when it was over. She took him into her service, created him a field-marshal, and he ever served her with the greatest devotedness. Those who volunteered of the Holstein Guards were received into the service of the new Sovereign; the remainder were embarked for their own country, and suffered shipwreck soon after quitting the coast. Not any of the partisans of Peter III., nor those who acted against the Empress, were exiled to Siberia.

Munich was appointed to the government of Livonia and Esthonia, although he had done his utmost to oppose her accession to the throne; but, when he saw the fortunes of his royal master had irretrievably fallen, he came amongst the crowd to offer homage to the new Sovereign. When her Majesty perceived him, she said—"Field-marshal, it was you that wanted to fight against me." "Yes, Madam," replied he in a firm tone; "could I do less for a prince who delivered me from captivity? But it is henceforth my duty to fight for *you*, and you will find in me a fidelity equal to that with which I devoted my services to him—receive my homages; they are, perhaps, worthy of your devoir." The Empress took him into favour, and appointed him to the governments alluded to, which he enjoyed for five years only, when the Marshal died of a good old age, in October, 1767, in his eighty-fifth year.

Biren was recalled to Court, with the view of reinstating him in the Duchy of Courland, which it was said he had never legally forfeited. Thus the Empress strengthened herself on the throne by disarming her enemies, and winning them over to serve her policy, which was wise and judicious, and she drew around it partisans of all classes. Although Catherine was so liberal, yet she could visit her anger on those who had incurred her displeasure; amongst others was the Princess Daschkoff, who pretended that the Empress owed to her her Crown. This Catherine's haughty spirit could not brook; she who was called upon to govern Russia, and in some measure to wield the destinies of Europe, would not put up with this insult from her inferior, and the princess fell into disgrace by the excess of her pretensions to the sovereign favour, when she was ordered to retire to

Moscow, from whence she was allowed to visit France and England, and some time after she returned to St. Petersburgh, when she was appointed Directress of the Academy of Sciences in that city.

The foreign policy of the Empress was in accordance with that of the late reign. She confirmed the peace made with the King of Prussia, and established amicable relations with the other Sovereigns of Europe; she had nothing to fear from foreign potentates—and the force of her government was directed against her own subjects, whom she had to combat both with art and severity; but the power was vested principally in Gregory Orloff, who ruled Russia with a high hand in the name of his imperial mistress. During Orloff's power, the affairs of Russia prospered, for he had high political honour and principles; he was respected and feared by the people. Not so her prime minister, Count Panine, of whom the British ambassador, Sir James Harris, complained, that his representations to his royal mistress were never to be depended upon, and our ambassador obtained at length private interviews with the Empress, to confer with her on the objects of his embassy.*

Catherine immediately applied herself to the internal improvement of her empire. She formed magnificent establishments for the education of youth of both sexes, and provided hospitals for orphans, for the sick, and for lying-in-women. She invited foreigners of all nations to settle in different parts of her vast territories. She gave encouragement to the cultivation of every useful and elegant art; so that in a short space of time the national improvement of Russia was visible. She increased the naval force, and placed it in a state of great

* See Harris' Life and Correspondence of Lord Malmesbury.

efficiency—thus, the active and vigorous mind of the new Sovereign of Russia seemed to embrace almost every subject which could conduce to the welfare of her empire; but, in the midst of it all, she felt that a legal title was wanting to her authority. The beginning of her reign was distinguished by frequent conspiracies against her government; there was a general fermentation in the public mind, even amongst the troops—the good qualities of Peter the Third were remembered, and his failings and faults forgotten; his fate was universally lamented, and the Russians deplored that the Sovereignty had departed from the ancient family of the Tzar to a foreigner, allied by marriage only to the blood royal. Many of the warmest partisans of the new Sovereign began to perceive that they had gained nothing by the change of rulers—the Clergy were offended by some spoliations upon them, which were commenced during the late reign; the people were oppressed by heavy contributions; and the soldiers were ashamed by the rigorous discipline imposed upon them. Thus a combination of angry elements conspired in the early part of her reign to make the Tzarina's position very precarious; and the danger became so imminent, that her Majesty was thought, during a whole day, to be in extreme hazard of experiencing the fate of her husband. But the Empress was firm, and in reply to her counsellors, who came to express to her their uneasiness, she said with that dignity which was so peculiar to her Majesty—"Why are you alarmed? Think you that I am afraid to face the danger? Recollect that you have seen me in moments more terrible than this, and that I can support the most cruel reverses of fortune with as much serenity as I have supported her favours. A few

factious, or a few mutinous spirits, are not to deprive me of a Crown which I accepted with reluctance. That Providence which has called me to reign, will preserve me for the glory and happiness of the empire, and that Almighty arm which has hitherto been my defence, will now confound my foes." Ivan the Third, who was the legitimate heir to the throne, still lived, confined in the Castle of Schlusselburgh, to which he had been banished by the Princess Elizabeth. This young Prince, who has been already alluded to, born in 1740, was the great grandson of Ivan Alexiovitch, the elder half-brother of Peter the Great. Peter the Third had expressed a resolution to release him from his captivity, and had even visited him in the Castle, to judge how far he might be worthy to become his successor, which was publicly talked of; but he was found to be almost imbecile, from the rigorous way in which he had been brought up, with a sort of dreamy knowledge as to his birth, and of the revolution which had stripped him of his legitimate rights. Peter soon perceived that he was totally unfit to be Sovereign of Russia, whose project more than anything else precipitated his downfall, since it implied the illegitimacy of Paul Petrovitch. Ivan had now arrived at the age of twenty-four years; and, although he had a defect in his utterance, and was almost destitute of sense or reason, yet the people, not aware of his deficiencies, looked to him as the rightful heir to the Crown, and conspiracies were formed in his favour, of a most alarming nature. The Empress became jealous of him, and had given orders for his stricter confinement, when the tragical end of this young Prince took place, which forms another dark page in Russian history. A conspiracy was formed to rescue him from

captivity, but it was badly organized. Mirovitch, an obscure individual, was at the head of it, and boldly made the attempt.

At this time the Empress, against whom Mirovitch was instigated by revenge, was on a tour in Livonia, having unsuccessfully applied to her for the restoration of some sequestrated property. He had no connections except amongst the lowest of the soldiers, six of whom he brought over to his views; and with this small band he determined on the Quixotic attempt to overturn the throne of the great Catherine, and to place upon it an imbecile. The captivity of the prince had been somewhat alleviated by order of the Empress; his table was liberally provided, his wardrobe sumptuously furnished. His greatest pleasure seems to have been to change his dress, occasionally twenty times in the day, with the immense variety afforded him for that purpose; he had been trained by his mother until he was eight years of age to understand his high birth, and his right to the throne of Russia, to which he had always some vague idea of succeeding.

When he saw Peter the Third at the interview alluded to, not knowing him, he said that he would kill the Emperor and Empress when he should recover his throne. There seems to be no doubt that Catherine had seen him shortly before the revolution took place, which conferred upon her Ivan's rights; her object might have been to see how far she should like him for a husband, since the priests advised her to marry him, but his doom was sealed from that time, for he was guarded more rigorously than ever. Mirovitch, with his six companions, traversed the ramparts on the 4th July, 1764, two years after Catherine's accession, to discover Ivan's apartments,

which, having ascertained, they determined on attempting to rescue him.

The door of his prison opened under a low arcade, formed by the thickness of the castle walls, within the ramparts, where eight soldiers kept guard; one of them he gained over, named Pishkoff. They then surprised the remainder, and the noise brought up the commandant of the fortress, who, in reply to his demand of their disturbance, was knocked on the head with the but-end of a musket, and sent to the guard-house. His own party, who had been assured by Mirovitch that he was acting by order of the Empress, were surprised at the resistance that was made, and demanded to have the order read to them. He produced one which had been forged for the occasion; they then proceeded towards the Prince's chamber. During this time, at the noise of the firing, Ivan awoke, and conjured his guards to spare his miserable life. But they had orders from the Empress, that if any attempt were made to rescue him, to put him to death. Seeing that these barbarians did not respect his prayers, he found new force in despair, and defended himself, though naked, for a considerable time, having his right hand pierced through, and his body covered with wounds. He seized the sword from one of the monsters, and broke it; but, whilst he was struggling with him, the other stabbed him behind, and threw him down, and several times repeating the blow, the unhappy prince expired. They then opened the door, and showed Mirovitch the bleeding body, saying—"Here is your Emperor," and showed him the order by which they were authorized to put him to death if any attempt should be made to convey him away. Mirovitch, on beholding the bleeding corpse, burst into tears, bewailed

the event, and, delivering up his sword, yielded himself their prisoner. The next day the body of the murdered Ivan was exposed before the church, in the castle of Schlusselburgh, clothed in the habit of a sailor. As soon as it was known, crowds of people flocked thither from the neighbouring towns, and St. Petersburgh. Great indignation and grief were excited at the news of an unfortunate prince, who, after having been cruelly precipitated from the throne while yet in his cradle, passed his days in a dark and doleful dungeon, where he was inhumanly put to death by assassins, in the twenty-fifth year of his age; his body was wrapt up in a sheep-skin, put into a coffin, and buried without ceremony. Ivan was fully six feet high, of a complexion extremely fair; the beauty of his person and his youth heightened the sensibility that was universally testified at his unhappy end, and the cruelty of his murderers. The assassins were rewarded, and promoted in the army; Mirovitch was publicly executed. A long manifesto was published by the Empress, lamenting the catastrophe which had so lamentably abridged the days of the young prince, Ivan.

On Catherine's arrival in the capital, after her tour, new impostors started up to menace her throne; it was even said that her husband, Peter, was alive. Five of these impostors had appeared and been put to death; but there was great discontent amongst her subjects, particularly amongst the clergy, who held in detestation the means by which she had ascended the throne; nor did they feel satisfied to live under the rule of a woman, who, amongst female sovereigns, might be compared to Catherine de Medicis herself: her throne was shaken by the credulity of a barbarous people, who lent an ear to the most preposterous pretenders to the sovereignty.

But the powerful mind of the Empress, and her vigilant government, soon scattered all these pretenders, and for a time her empire reposed in peace. The throne of Catherine was now established by the death of, or the renunciation of it by, every person descended from the imperial family of Romanoff; but she did not feel secure of it until she had been crowned in the ancient cathedral of the Tzars, for which purpose she made a journey to Moscow, accompanied by Count Orloff, and the nobles and ladies of her court who had shown themselves the most devoted to her, as well as by those whom she had reason to dread. The Empress was likewise accompanied by the Grand Duke, Paul Petrovitch.

The numerous cavalcade of the Empress made a grand entry into the ancient capital of Russia; but it was received by the public without acclamation, or any tokens of welcome, which every means had been taken to ensure. The crowd retired at the presence of the Tzarina, but ran everywhere to meet the Grand Duke, and mingled with the emotions which they felt for the child, a visible concern for the misfortunes of the father. The Empress repaired to the cathedral, where she was received with much pomp by the Archbishop of Novogorod, in the presence of the soldiery, and the great dignitaries of the court; but it was noticed that she did not permit the Grand Duke to appear at the ceremony, lest the sight of him might recall to the people the memory of Peter the Third, every trace of whom she sought to wipe out. She flattered the troops by a manifesto, which appeared on the day of her coronation, appointing herself colonel of five regiments of the Life Guards.

The old field-marshal, Munieh, was the first to offer

homage on his knee; he was an old courtier as well as an old soldier. "I offer to your Majesty the remainder of my days, the flattering hope of finishing them in the service of my master having vanished; receive my homages, they are, perhaps, worthy of your divine superiority. May the God of our fathers bless your reign!" The Empress soon returned to St. Petersburgh from Moscow, scarcely able to conceal the chagrin which her reception there had occasioned her.

About this time, the small-pox was very prevalent at St. Petersburgh. The Empress and her son were in the country, afraid of coming to town; many of the nobility were carried off by it, and much alarm existed in the capital. The Empress decided on being herself inoculated with the Grand Duke, when an eminent practitioner, Dr. Thomas Dimsdale, was invited from London to perform the operation, who went to St. Petersburgh, accompanied by his son; they were immediately presented to her Majesty, and were invited to dine at her table. Of the entertainment the Doctor remarked, "that what enlivened it the most was the unaffected ease and affability of the Empress herself with each of her guests (not more than twelve). The Empress sat alone at the upper end of a long table. We all had a share of her attention and politeness; the conversation was kept up with a freedom and cheerfulness to be expected rather from persons of the same rank, than from subjects admitted to the honour of their sovereign's company." On the 12th October, the Empress was privately inoculated at Tzarsko Zelo, a royal residence about twelve versts from the capital, and the Grand Duke soon after submitted to a similar operation; in both cases, they were completely successful. Catherine rewarded the services of Dr Dimsdale by creating

him a Baron of the Russian Empire, and appointing him actual Councillor of State, and Physician to her Imperial Majesty, with a pension of £500 a year, to be paid him in England, besides a donation of £10,000, which he immediately received. The Empress also presented him with a miniature portrait of herself, and another of the Grand Duke, as a memorial of his services; and, to express her approbation of the conduct of his son, she confered upon him the same title, presenting him with a gold snuff-box, richly set in diamonds.

These illustrious examples were immediately followed by the leading personages of both the Russian capitals, and subsequently almost throughout the empire. A grand thanksgiving service was performed in the Chapel of the Palace, on the recovery of her Majesty and the Grand Duke from the small-pox, in which the Empress assisted, standing under a canopy of state (no one being allowed to sit in the Greek Church). A discourse was delivered by the Priest (which is also unusual), in which he remarked, "That the Russians had borrowed assistance from Britain, that island famed for wisdom, bravery, and virtue." The recovery was deemed so important, that the Senate decreed it shall be solemnized by an annual festival, which was regularly observed during this reign.

In 1767, Catherine sent a company of learned men to travel through the interior of her vast dominions, in order to determine the geographical position of the different places, to mark their respective temperatures, to examine into the nature of the soil, their vegetable and mineral productions, &c., and to observe the manners of the people by whom they were inhabited. This survey of the Russian empire, and the maps made from it, would have immortalized her name, had she

gained no other glory; such was the versatility of her great mind. But we cannot forget the means by which she obtained the imperial dignity, nor those gross stains on her moral character, nor her love of power and aggrandizement, which trampled on the laws of nations and the rights of humanity.

The Empress, likewise, assigned an annual pension of sixty thousand roubles for the maintenance of the Royal Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburgh; and she made a present of a considerable sum to an establishment in the capital for the advancement of agriculture. Her Majesty assisted in person, accompanied by the Grand Duke, at an assembly held by the Academy of Polite Arts. The court of Catherine now became the resort of learned men from every part of Europe, and the asylum of the sciences.

She invited Professor Euler from Berlin, and settled a large annual stipend upon him, besides presenting him with a house, and other marks of her royal favour and protection. The Empress, likewise, kept up the gaieties of her court with regal splendour. On the occasion of the carnival, an amphitheatre was built for the purpose, having two superb boxes for the Empress and the Grand Duke: in the centre of the arena was raised a throne, whereon sat the judge of the exercises, supported by forty officers, and four heralds at arms, and two trumpeters to give the signals; four troops of horse, at the tournament, represented four different nations—the Sclavonic, the Turkish, the Indian, and the Roman, in their dress and ornaments. Count Alexis Orloff, in a superb dress, headed the Turkish troop, whilst his brother's, the Count Gregory's, was by far the most brilliant. Count Munich distri-

buted the prizes; after which was a splendid supper at Court, where the imperial garden was illuminated, and the dessert admirably represented the circus on which the carnival had been performed. The festival terminated with a masquerade, which continued till daylight the next morning.

The Empress, also, did much to advance the science of astronomy. The transit of the planet Venus over the sun was to happen in 1769, when her Majesty wrote a letter with her own hand to Count Wolidimir Orloff, director of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburgh, requesting to be informed of the most proper places in her dominions for making the necessary observations, with an offer to send workmen to construct buildings wherever the academy may think proper for the purpose, and to grant every assistance to the undertaking which it might require. The following is the copy of the letter alluded to:—

"Mons. Count Orloff,—Having been informed that, in the summer of the year 1769, the planet Venus will pass over the sun, I write you this letter, that you may acquaint the Academy of Sciences on my part, that it is my pleasure the Academy should procure the observations to be made with the utmost care, and that I desire, in consequence, to know which are the most advantageously situated places of the empire that the Academy has destined for this observation, to the end that, in case it shall be necessary to erect any buildings, workmen may be sent, and proper measures taken; that if there be not a sufficient number of astronomers in the Academy for completing the observations in the place fixed upon by the Academy, I propose and take upon me to find out among my marine subjects, such as,

during the interval between the present time and the transit of Venus, may be perfected in the habit of observing, under the eyes of the professors, so as to be employed with advantage in this expedition, and to the satisfaction of the Academy. You will, M. Count, transmit me the answer of the Academy, with its full opinion about everything above, that I may give order for the whole without loss of time.—CATHERINE. Moscow, 3rd March, 1767."

The Academy at St. Petersburgh applied to a member of the Royal Society of London to procure the necessary instruments for the purpose of proceeding successfully in their important observations.

As respects the internal government of the empire, the Empress undertook a great and arduous task, worthy of an exalted mind. The laws of Russia were voluminous to an absurd degree, perplexing, and insufficient; the particular laws of different provinces were continually interfering and clashing, and caused such confusion that they could not be acted upon, since there was no trace left of any original system or design. This Augean stable the Empress determined to clean out; for which purpose she summoned deputies from every province in the empire to attend her at Moscow, to form an entire and new code of laws for the government of the whole. The Empress, when giving instructions to a commission for framing a code of laws, issued the following:—"The Sovereign of the Russian empire is absolute; for no other than an authority concentrated in his person alone, can adequately operate through the extent of so large an empire. An extensive empire pre-supposes an unlimited power in the person who governs it; the celerity of decision in the matters that

are brought from distant places, must compensate the tardiness that arises from that remoteness. Any other form of government would be not only prejudicial to Russia, but even, at length, be the cause of its total ruin. Another reason is, because it is better to obey the laws under one ruler, than to conform to the will of many.

"But what is the aim of an absolute government? Not to deprive mankind of their natural liberty, but to direct their actions to the maintenance of the highest prosperity. Consequently, a form of government which is, more than others, constituted to that end, and, at the same time, contracts the national liberty less than others, is that which best coincides with the aims attributed to rational creatures, and is most adapted to the objects they have ever had in view in the institution of civil societies. The object and end of unlimited government is, the glory of the citizen of the state, and of the sovereign. Among a people who live under a monarchial government, from this glory flows the spirit of liberty, which, in such states, bursts forth in such great actions as are able, in the very same proportion, to promote the happiness of the subjects as liberty itself." On the 30th August, 1767, the deputies arrived from all the provinces of the empire, when the commission was opened with much solemnity by command of the Empress.

They assembled at seven in the morning in the convent of Tschudow, and at ten o'clock her Majesty, wearing the imperial robe, and a coronet on her head, proceeded to church in a coach, which was followed by twenty other coaches and six. As soon as the Empress arrived at the church, the deputies walked thither, two and two, conducted by the attorney-general, holding the

marshal's staff in his hand; they were preceded by the superior departments of the empire, the colleges, and chanceries, which were followed by the twenty governments, and particular districts. After singing "Te Deum," the Archbishop of Twer made a pious exhortation, and all the deputies took the oath, and afterwards signed it with their own hands. In the meantime, her Majesty withdrew to the audience chamber, where the attorney-general conducted the deputies to the foot of the throne in the same order as before.

None knew better than Catherine II. how to establish her authority; she busied herself in making reforms, and creating useful institutions; she corrected the tribunal of justice, and founded numerous schools; she built hospitals and planted colonies in several parts of the empire; she endeavoured to infuse into the people a love of the laws, and to soften their manners by instruction. Catherine's active and capacious mind, even amidst conspiracies formed for overturning her government, which seemed sufficient to occupy her attention, yet found time to write the celebrated "Code Catherine;" she sought to attract the reverence of mankind, to captivate their admiration, and to become at once both conqueror and legislator. This celebrated Code was printed in 1776, consisting of 525 Articles; the whole performance being deemed an excellent compendium of choice observations, of good maxims, and of generous sentiments, including, at the same time, a beautiful collection of striking passages from the celebrated philosophers of Greece and Rome; of apt examples from ancient and modern history, likewise from the manners of cultivated and savage nations, and even from such as were not much known to the rest of Europe—such as the Chinese, and other Asiatics,

It may be almost deemed the philosophy of legislation. The basis of the "Code Catherine" was, 1st, The sovereign of Russia enjoys an unlimited authority. 2d, An extended empire naturally supposes an unlimited power in those who govern. 3rd, It is an advantage to obey the laws under one master. 4th, In the Prince is vested the source of all power, political and civil. 5th, The intermediate powers, subordinate and dependent on the supreme power, constitutes the government.* The Tzarina was much flattered by a letter which she received from the King of Prussia, congratulating her on her "Code Catherine." "No woman (said the monarch) has yet been a legislatrix; this glory was reserved for the Empress of Russia, who well merits it—the ancients would have placed your imperial Majesty between Lycurgus and Solon." Voltaire congratulated the Empress on her wonderful performance of the "Code Catherine," to whom she replied, "These laws, about which there has been so much talk, are not yet finished; who, then, can tell that they are good for anything? Posterity, not ourselves, must decide that question; they are made for Europe and for Asia. What a difference of climate, of customs, of persons, and even of ideas! Still, I must make them a dress which will serve them all. I have nearly a universe to form, to unite, and to preserve. Laws are made for all persons, and all persons are obliged to conform to them: they should be drawn up in such a manner that all may understand them; still, they should be simple and concise, and admit of no

* The original manuscript of this Code of laws, in the Empress' own handwriting, was enclosed in a species of temple made of solid silver, and deposited in one of the halls of the Senate-house, where it may be seen by the curious visiter.—AUTHOR.

latitude of interpretation, and there are none in which the safety of the subject is more concerned than in those made against treason. It is better to prevent crimes than to punish them. Would you prevent crimes, take all possible means to enlighten the people: punishments should be speedy—proportioned to the crime and public."

"The most efficacious prevention of crime is not the severity of punishment, but the certainty of it. The death of a criminal is a less painful restraint against the commission of crimes, than the long and lasting example of a criminal deprived of his liberty, and making an expiation, by the labour of the remainder of his life, for the wrongs he has done to society. The corruption of every government always begins by that of its principal. If the Sovereign, as well as the magistrates and persons in authority, cease to be respected—if no particular regard is paid to old persons, the state in which this takes place is most assuredly hastening on very rapidly to its ruin. Every government should be so constituted, that no one citizen should have occasion to fear another citizen, but that all men should fear the laws. Laws ought only to prohibit those things that may cause mischief to the individual, or to society in general."

On publishing her code of laws, she was, by acclamation, voted the titles of "great, wise, prudent, and mother of the country," and when she was petitioned to accept the titles, she answered, with an assumed modesty—"That if she had rendered herself worthy of the first, it belonged to posterity to confer it upon her; that wisdom and prudence were the gifts of Heaven, for which she daily gave thanks, without presuming to derive any merit from them herself; that, lastly, the title

of 'mother of the country' was the most dear of all in her eyes, the only one which she would accept, and which she regarded as the most benign and glorious recompense for her labours and solicitude in behalf of a people whom she loved;" and in an imperial ukase, dated 29th July, in the same year, she said—"Not only all that we have, or may have, but also our life itself, we have devoted to our dear country; we value not labour on our own account; we serve not ourself, but labour with all pains, with all diligence and care, for the glory and happiness of our people."

In this way, Catherine endeavoured to establish a confidence amongst her subjects. She decreed, "the secret Inquisition Chancery is abolished;" her criminal laws breathed a mild and gentle spirit, and during her long reign a sentence of death was extremely rare. She invited strangers to cultivate those dreary wastes, the Steppes of Russia, by granting them free lands with great privileges. To this effect, her voice resounded through Germany, when tens of thousands flocked to take possession of the promised land, on the banks of the Volga and the Samara. All religions were tolerated amongst them, and an immense grant of money was made to assist the emigrants to locate in their new country; they were composed of Germans, French, Poles, and Swedes; so generally had her invitation been accepted in Europe, and in one district alone the colonists amounted to 10,000 families. The Empress laid the foundations of the foundling and lying-in hospitals at Moscow, and subsequently of another foundling hospital at St. Petersburgh, where she established thirty-one valuable institutions. She likewise encouraged commerce, and issued an imperial ukase, drawn up with her own hand, in

which she said—"On the whole surface of the earth there is no country better adapted for commerce than our empire. Russia has spacious harbours in Europe, and overland the way is open through Poland to every region. Siberia extends on one side over all Asia, and India is not very remote from Orenburg, but on the other side it seems to touch upon America. Across the Euxine is a passage, though as yet unexplored, to Egypt and Africa, and bountiful Providence has blessed the extensive provinces of our empire with such gifts of nature, as can as rarely be found as they are wanted in all the four quarters of the world." Catherine sent several young Russians to China to acquaint themselves with it, and to establish commercial relations with that country; and having showed herself as a patroness of the arts and sciences, as the legislatrix of a vast empire, she spared neither trouble nor expense to diffuse over the half-civilized states of Russia the lights of science, and the benefits of useful and elegant arts; she protected likewise, as far as she could, the poor from the oppressions of the rich.

In the meantime, conspiracies were multiplied against her government, which became the more dangerous, since amongst her enemies were some of the most powerful personages of the Empire, including Count Panine and his brothers; and it seems certain that, if they could have turned their eyes on a prince worthy to be their sovereign, Catherine would have lost her crown. Some of them proposed to call Paul Petrovitch to the throne; but, although embarrassed and irresolute amongst themselves, they alike formed the plan of dethroning the Empress without naming her successor. The greatest enmity was felt by them against the favourite Orleff, to

whom it was reported Catherine, in order to give him an additional proof of her love, meant to have shared with him the imperial throne. The apprehension that she might bestow herself on this unprincipled adventurer, who had so assisted to precipitate from it her unfortunate husband, occasioned violent murmurs amongst all classes; and a plan was formed, which was on the point of succeeding, that of carrying off her and her favourite from the palace at Moscow, where the court had been for some time established, but it failed, since the hour was wrongly marked by one of the conspirators, whose movements spread alarm through the palace. Catherine was roused, and, fearing that her life was not safe in that city, she hastened to quit it, and returned to St. Petersburgh. The day of her departure was signalized by the most insolent joy on the part of the populace, who tore down her cipher from the "grand palace," and dragged it through the mud. The Empress arrived in the capital on the anniversary of her accession to the throne, and, to overawe the multitude by dazzling them, she omitted nothing for rendering her entry magnificent and solemn; her carriage was preceded by all the regiments of the Guards, followed by the foreign ministers then at her court, and by a numerous train of courtiers, whom interest and vanity had drawn into her suite. But the pompous spectacle had not the effect which her Majesty expected; it created more astonishment than joy, and tended rather to increase the irritation of the public mind. The number of malcontents augmented; even the Princess Daschkoff, who had been so zealously her friend in early life, and who had done so much to help her to the imperial dignity, was suspected by Catherine to have had some share in the plots, and she

conjured her by her ancient friendship to make known what she knew of these conspiracies. The Orloffs, in the meantime, neglected nothing for pacifying the troops, by making presents and fine speeches amongst the malcontents, many of the leaders of whom were declared guilty of high treason, and banished to Siberia.

Whilst Catherine was thus managing her subjects, she displayed to foreign Courts all the greatness of her character; she was at the same time giving law to Poland, amusing Austria, conciliating the friendship of Prussia, and treating with England; she was also tampering with the other Courts of Europe, and labouring to make herself dreaded by them. The history of that day presents no such instance of a sovereign attaining to such a dictatorship as the Empress of Russia then acquired in the European states, and from no one before her was there so much to fear in the erection of a universal monarchy. Foreigners approached this great Sovereign with a reverence and respect which no other crowned head could command. All Europe incensed the renowned Empress of Russia. They saw that her comprehensive mind embraced all objects, from political aggrandizement to active benevolence; she infused a new and vital spirit throughout her Empire; her Court was brilliant, and prodigal in magnificent taste and refinements of life; and foreigners, as well as natives, offered their homage of personal reverence to the beautiful and spirited woman who presided over it; commercial industry and diligence received an immense impetus, through her active measures of sending out her ships to the principal ports of Europe.

The Russian merchants, being desirous of compli-

menting her Majesty for her zealous activity in promoting foreign commerce, resolved to present her with an elegant coach, which had been built in London at the cost of £1,500; the body of it was supported by Dolphins and Mermaids; on one of the panels was curiously painted the Empress, sitting in a triumphal car, surrounded with trophies of war; on the other panel was a Turk, in a supplicating posture, surrendering to the Empress the implements of war; on the quarter panels were crowns of laurels, and other devices; the naves looked like solid silver, and the spokes were carved and gilt.

Amidst all her numerous engagements, and the important subjects occupying the mind of the Empress Catherine, she did not forget her domestic matters so far as regarded her son, the Grand Duke Paul Petrovitch; although she had kept him under the strictest discipline, nor would allow him to interfere in state affairs, nor to have any command in the army, yet his mother thought it necessary to provide him with a consort, that he might give heirs to the Empire. The Empress accordingly invited to her Court the Princess Wilhelmina of Hesse-Darmstadt, who embraced the Greek orthodox faith, taking the name of Natalia, and she was joined in wedlock to the Grand Duke on the 10th July, 1773; but their married life was but of very short duration, since she died in childbed in 1776. This event seemed to overwhelm the Tzarina with grief, and she retired with the Grand Duke to Zarsko Zelo, who was himself in the greatest affliction. But no sooner were the obsequies of the lamented Princess performed, than Catherine turned her thoughts towards providing a second consort for

her son, for whom she destined Maria Princess of Wurtemburg, a niece of Frederick the Great, and whom the Grand Duke had seen at Berlin.

Although the Princess was at that time betrothed to the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, yet the proposed union was too favourable for Prussia to permit this to be any obstacle, and Frederick made no hesitation to accept Catherine's proposed alliance by marriage of the two Imperial families of Russia and Prussia; the moment was favourable, since Prince Henry, the King's brother, who had been on a visit to the Court of St. Petersburgh, was on his return to Berlin, and the Grand Duke accompanied him, to be affianced to his intended bride, and to pay his devoirs to the great Frederick, by whom he was most graciously received, and entertained with all the splendour of the Prussian Court.

The Grand Duke made his public entry into Berlin on the 21st July, 1776, accompanied by Prince Henry of Prussia, amidst the most splendid processions of military parade, in one of the king's coaches with eight horses, followed by three others, in which were Field-marshal Count Romanzoff, General Soltikoff, and the chamberlain and gentlemen of his imperial highness. All the magistracy received the Princes under a triumphal arch, where were upwards of seventy young maidens, dressed like nymphs and shepherdesses, who presented the Grand Duke with verses, and a garland of flowers. The cannons were fired, and the trumpets sounded from the beginning until the King embraced the Grand Duke in his apartments, who, on his approach, thus addressed his Majesty,—"Permit me, O mighty monarch, to signify my reasons for having

travelled from the extremities of the north to these happy dominions. It is to assure you, myself, of the everlasting tie of friendship and alliance which henceforth shall reign between Russia and Prussia—to meet Russia's future Empress, who will be dearer to myself, and to the whole nation, for my having received her from your hands—and lastly, and chiefly, to view with my own eyes Europe's greatest hero, the admiration of the age, and the astonishment of posterity."

Here he was interrupted by the king, who replied,—"Instead of which you behold a hoary-headed valetudinarian, who could never have wished for a superior happiness than that of welcoming within these walls the hopeful head of a mighty empire, and the only son of my best friend, Catherine the Great." Then, turning to Marshal Romanzoff, he added—"Welcome, conqueror of the Ottomans: I find a great likeness between you and my general, Winterfeldt." "Sire," replied the marshal, "I am ambitious to resemble outwardly a general who distinguished himself so much in your Majesty's service." The King made answer,—"You have far more reason to be proud of your own glorious deeds, which will hand down to posterity your immortal fame." Prince Henry of Prussia, in the name of the Empress of Russia, demanded the Princess of Wirtemberg-Stutgard in marriage for the Grand Duke, and the ceremony of the contract took place the same day. On the 3rd August, the Grand Duke took leave of the royal family, when the king made him the following magnificent presents—a dessert and coffee service, with ten vases of china, of the manufacture of Berlin, a ring with his Majesty's portrait, covered with a diamond, valued at 30,000 crowns, a set of Prussian

horses, and four pieces of rich tapestry. The return of the Grand Duke to St. Petersburgh, was followed by the arrival of the Princess of Wirtemberg, who was baptized into the Greek Church, and received the name of Maria Feodorovna, and soon after she was married to the Tzarovitch, the presumptive heir of the great empire of Russia. Of this marriage, four princes and five princesses were born, one only of the imperial family being now living, viz., his Majesty Nicholas I. The Grand Duke, with his consort, visited the different courts of Austria, Italy, France, and Holland, and returned by the north to Russia. The majestic figure and extreme beauty of the Grand Duchess were universally admired; whilst the mean appearance, and stunted figure, with the Tartar stamp of her royal consort, were fertile sources of polite criticism in the great circles which they visited.

In 1775, we have some view of the government of the Tzarina, by an imperial ukase which was published relative to the internal administration of the empire. The taxes laid on during the war were abolished: amongst others, was that of one rouble per annum on each weaver's loom employed in fabrics, or by private persons in their own houses; as likewise a tax of one per cent. on the value of every other kind of manufactured goods; and the taxes on furnaces of iron-works and copper foundries. Trade was relieved from every sort of imposition, and leave given to establish manufactories without the permission of the colleges, to which they had been formerly subjected; the prohibition was taken off, from all the towns and villages in the empire, of erecting smiths' shops, and small iron-works, with many others of minor importance, bearing directly or indirectly on foreign

trade. The same edict contained, among other removals of prohibitions, that against marrying without the consent of the governors of towns or provinces, and all the duties hitherto paid to obtain their permission. All peasants enfranchised by their lords, were to choose whether they would enter into the service of the government, or become burghers or merchants, so that they might be taxed, or exempted from taxes, accordingly.

All insolvent debtors, who had been confined for the space of five years, were to be released. All heirs of persons who were indebted to the crown, were discharged from the payment of such debts. The duties on the sale of lands and houses were lowered from six to four per cent.; and all nobles, serving as subaltern officers, were to be subject to no other penalties nor punishments than such as were inflicted on their superior officers; nor were the punishments of the private men to be so severe nor so ignominious as they had hitherto been. The inhabitants of the newly-acquired province of White Russia had their taxes remitted, by taking off one half of what they had formerly been rated at. Such were some of the regulations by which the Tzarina's government was to be administered, in which she sought to alleviate the condition of her subjects, and to reconcile them to that yoke, which even the mildest despotism must impose. Nor was Catherine inattentive to the affairs of religion, to which she always paid great external decorum and respect; but she was very tenacious of her rights, not only as Sovereign of the church, but to prevent the intrusion of any other sects without the imperial authority, particularly the Papists, whose encroachments she strenuously provided against, by a decree, dated 4th July,

1789. She constituted the city of Mohilow to be the residence of the archbishop of the Roman Catholic religion, and for all other parts of the Russian Empire, strictly ordering—"The archbishop shall not receive any order from any person whatsoever, beside us and our senate.

"The appointments of superiors and heads of convents, and of all other promotion to the ecclesiastical degrees of the Roman Catholic religion, shall be dependent, in all the extent of the Russian Empire, on the will of the archbishop whom we have appointed, and We order to dismiss and send away those who may have come from foreign countries, and not to suffer any of them to come in for the future, under the penalty of being judicially prosecuted for having disobeyed the decrees of the supreme government." In a subsequent ukase, issued by the Empress, she says—"We confirm the prohibition, expressed in our decree of July 4th, 1789, to all the governments, not to permit the entrance, within our frontiers, of foreign ecclesiastics; and we direct that, whenever any of them appear, they shall be sent back, and threatened with being delivered over to the tribunals of our departments, to be judged according to the laws; and finally, those who, contrary to this decree, receive them without the permission of the archbishop, shall be sent to the competent tribunals, to be judged according to the laws.

"We command that all the religious orders of the Romish religion shall only be dependent on the archbishop of Mohilow, or his coadjutor, or on his consistory, without daring to admit any other ecclesiastical power out of our empire, or to send to such power any portion of their incomes, or to have any connection with it, under the

penalty of being judicially prosecuted for disobeying the laws of the supreme government.

"We confirm our preceding decree, which prohibits the reception of any Bull from the Pope, or any other writings sent in his name, ordering that the same shall be sent to our senate, who, after having examined their contents, and particularly any thing that may be found contrary to the laws of this Russian Empire, or to the rights of the ecclesiastical power, which we have received from God, shall be obliged to communicate to us its opinion, and to wait our permission or prohibition in rendering public such bulls, or writings." Such was the energy displayed by the Empress against Papal encroachments.

But the power of the Tzarina's government was supported by the most tyrannous despotism. There was no other method of ruling a barbarous people, and her daring mind was just fitted to accomplish what her genius suggested. She could not always secure obedience where the immediate instruments of her power were not in sight of the people. At a distance they dared to defy her authority; order and discipline were at an end, and submission could no longer be secured of those who had been the slaves of the sovereign, and had now become the open contemners of her government, occasioned by the heavy impositions which had been laid upon them, and by the continued draughts of men carried off for the supply of the army. Hence, the Cossacs bordering the kingdom of Kasan were quite ripe for rebellion, and they only waited for some chief to conduct it, who soon presented himself in the person of Pougatcheff, a Cossac of the Don, and he headed the most formidable rebellion that ever disturbed the reign of the Tzarina. He was very

fitted to play the part of a struggle for empire; although but half civilized, yet he had the ambition for distinction, with a frame tall, robust, and vigorous, and inured from childhood to all the hardships of their semi-savage life. His mind was sufficiently endowed to enable him to judge of character, and he had had some experience of war in foreign countries, having served in one Russian campaign. The Cossacs of the Don had been long discontented with the government of Catherine; they were dissenters from the Greek Church, and had been much persecuted by the priests of that communion; they wished to throw off the Russian yoke, and Pougatcheff, returning to his native country at this time, offered himself for their leader; he meditated the plan, if not of overturning Catherine's throne, at least to sever the provinces of the Don and the Volga from her dominions. He was soon betrayed by one of his followers, and committed to the prison of Kasan, from whence he made an easy escape. This taught him caution in the next attempt; and, what much favoured his design, was his great resemblance to the late murdered sovereign. Hence he took the name of Peter the Third, his adherents boldly asserting that he was still alive, and that a soldier had been sacrificed in his stead. He unfurled his banners under this title, and claimed his inheritance, which he was determined by the force of arms to recover from the present usurper. Some thousands of people flocked to his standard, more from disaffection to the government than from any belief in his pretensions. One of his important adherents was named Koschenikoff, likewise a Cossac, in conjunction with whom the insurrection was principally organized. Their movements did not escape the vigilance of the Russian government, by whom

they were denounced and defeated, when nine followers only remained to him, and the leader took to flight. Even this second discomfiture did not discourage Pougatcheff, and in a few days he was at the head of 1500 men, with whom he advanced to the fortified town of Ilitzka: the inhabitants opened their gates to him, and the garrison passed over and joined his forces. This was his first great success, which so emboldened him that he undertook greater enterprises, when a more important place, Casypnaja, fell into his hands. The garrison followed the example of the soldiers; they brought with them a train of artillery, which so augmented his force, that he proceeded to another fortress, and here, on finding some resistance, after carrying the place, he executed all the officers, thereby proving the savage barbarity of his nature, which would adopt every means to attain his end, of being supreme Ruler over the Don provinces.

His fame spread abroad, and his followers increased; his cruelties were the theme of popular rumour, of which he had given so many proofs, revolting to humanity. During his daring enterprises, fortress after fortress fell into his hands, which alarmed the government, and a reward was offered of 100,000 roubles, together with the decorations of all the Russian orders of knighthood, to any person who would secure him, whether dead or alive. Though this was an immense sum of money in such remote countries, with other temptations, yet he was not betrayed by any of his followers; and no one was found base enough to accept these rewards as the price of the proposed treachery. General Carr was sent from St. Petersburgh to repress the rebellion. Pougatcheff was then at the head of 16,000 men—and the General sent out his advanced guard to annoy them, but they were

defeated, and the officers hung that fell into his hands. Carr was totally routed; he was obliged to retreat, and give up the command to another general. Such a victory over the regular troops of the empire, produced an immense alarm in the immediate provinces where it occurred, and many Tartar tribes joined the standard of the impostor, who now played the sovereign in good earnest—he even conferred titles, appointed generals of the army, established several powder-manufactories, and erected foundries for casting large guns. Another army was soon dispatched against him, when General Bibikoff issued a manifesto, exposing the imposture of Pougatcheff, who issued a counter manifesto, that he would punish with death whosoever might dare to dispute his right to the throne as Peter the Third; he even caused coins to be struck, impressed with his effigy; but he had now attained the summit of his power, which was soon to crumble before him.

General Bibikoff defeated his forces in several successive engagements; the prestige that surrounded his name being thus broken, his cause soon became desperate; his army was reduced to one-eighth of its former amount; all the fortresses which he had captured, fell into the hands of the imperial forces; his followers were sometimes reduced to a hundred men, and he was obliged to seek refuge in a forest, from the pursuit of the enemy. Here he rallied his forces, and crossed the Volga with 500 men; his genius and indomitable courage did not forsake him, and he succeeded once more in rallying many thousands to his standard: the ignorant Cossacs really believed him to be Peter the Third. He pillaged the country with merciless severity; he hung the nobles wherever he could find them; several towns surrendered

to him; it was even thought he would march to Moscow. he totally defeated a Russian detachment sent against him, and had drawn together an army of 20,000 men; he fought a battle with the Russian general, Michelson; here he was defeated after a most desperate engagement with the loss of 6000 prisoners, and 2000 put "hors de combat," and all his artillery was captured. Such a defeat caused a panic among his followers; they fled, and the impostor with only 300 men reached the banks of the Volga, which they had to cross in boats, when only sixty of them reached the opposite side of the river, and with these he continued his flight, and plunged into the forests to avoid pursuit. Here they suffered incredible hardships, being without water and without provisions, which could not long be endured; his companions mocked him at having played the emperor for so long a time, and declared his reign at an end; they fell upon him, and, although he made a desperate resistance, they bound and delivered him over to his enemies, thereby expecting a full pardon for their crimes. They repaired to Count Panine's head-quarters, and offered to bring the rebel bound hand and foot on condition of receiving a pardon for their offences; this was readily granted, and the wretched man was brought before the Russian general, where he preserved a melancholy but unconquerable silence. He was conveyed to Moscow in an iron cage, and every means used to prevent the possibility of his destroying himself; he for some time refused all sustenance, but his keepers found means to compel him to eat. In his subsequent examinations at Moscow, he is said to have counterfeited madness, or to have been in reality a wretched enthusiast, by still persevering in his pretensions to the empire, and resting thereon his whole plea of defence.

The Empress announced the capture of the culprit to the French king, in which she said,—"I shall keep his depositions secret, that they may not aggravate the disgrace of those who set him on," evidently implying that Pougatcheff was only an instrument, and that the sources of the rebellion were to be traced elsewhere. The culprit was executed according to the barbarous laws of Russia, first cutting off the limbs, and then the head of the criminal: some of the principal conspirators suffered with him, both at Moscow and in the different towns of the provinces, where they had been distinguished in the rebellion; the dispersed rebels returned to their duties and allegiance, and it was remarked that Catherine did not manifest any of that sanguinary vengeance which had so distinguished her predecessors. In the meantime, a general famine prevailed in these desolated countries, and the government was at great expense in sending corn and meal from the magazines at Moscow, and other places, to prevent the people from immediately perishing.

The Empress having now succeeded in establishing the internal tranquillity of her empire, regulated its internal concerns by dividing it into governments or viceroyalties, of which there were thirty-eight in Europe, and five in Asia; some of them were again divided into provinces, over which governors were appointed, with many sub-magistrates, such appointments emanating from the directing Senate, subject to the approbation of the sovereign. To assist Commerce, banks were established even in Siberia, the trade of which country was now assuming some activity; thus the active mind of the Tzarina, when unoccupied with foreign conquests, was busied for the internal welfare of her people. She condescended even to their superstitions, paying the greatest respect to

the priests, who were held in extreme veneration by them, although she must have held in contempt the bigotry of those by whom her people were enslaved.

But repose was not congenial to the aspiring soul of Catherine, nor could her restless genius remain satisfied with sedate and quiet pleasures. Both glory and fame were her elements, and there was nothing which she would not sacrifice to acquire them; and, when her arms had ceased to gain victories beyond her frontiers, she sought other triumphs from the magnificence and encouragement with which she patronized the Arts and Sciences, so that "her encomiums were echoed in the gazettes of all nations," for the royal munificence which she showered upon foreigners, the numerous institutions which she created for augmenting the industry and riches of her people, and her lively solicitude for their welfare. Catherine's great and splendid actions, adorned by such princely gifts, which could spring only from the resources of so vast an empire, afforded a permanency to her government, and conferred a lustre upon it, not only to dazzle her own subjects, but all European nations. Autocracy exhibiting itself in the form of a graceful woman covered with glory, received with ease a homage that had nothing humiliating in it; the character of the warrior had something in it of chivalry, and that of the courtier of gallantry, which seemed to ennoble it. She made the army popular by infusing a spirit of gallantry into her troops, who were proud to enrol themselves under the banner of their female Sovereign; the youths of the first families adopted the profession of arms, and not to have served was the exception as well as the disgrace; honorary distinctions were showered upon them, and few officers were seen without the badge of a ribbon,

or a cross. The army was recruited by conscripts from every five hundred male inhabitants; their equipment and discipline were complete, and so submissive were the men to their officers, that no dangers, no fatigues, no privations, could ever impair their sense of duty. The irregular cavalry drawn from the Cossacs of the Ukraine and the Don formed the finest skirmishing troops then in the world; mounted on small indefatigable horses, and equipped at their own expense, they were always ready to take the field for glory or for plunder; hence the Russian government could at any time command a military force of two hundred thousand men at small expense, and, as a nursery for such forces, military colonies were established from whence the ranks might be recruited.

The artillery, then in its infancy, was not forgotten; the carriages were cumbrous, but the obstinate valour of the men rendered it a strong arm of the military power, which has since grown to be the most efficient force of the kind of any in Europe. The Empress Catherine was as generous in private as she was magnificent in public life; there was a grace and charm which fascinated all within her immediate circle, and a boldness of spirit that awed and bound to her all within her magic rule. The inmates of her court loved her with sincerity, to whom she was kind, affable, and munificent, although outside her court she was arbitrary and despotic; but with all her vigilance and care to win over her subjects, she had much to contend with amongst them, and insurrections were frequently breaking out, the most prominent of which was that of Pougatcheff, already related, which was said to have cost the country at least 100,000 men, and an immense waste of the national resources. This was followed by a frightful famine, the result often

of pillage and bloodshed, which seek to destroy; and whilst she was putting down this obstinate and alarming rebellion, that preyed upon the very vitals of the Empire, she was at the same time conducting an extensive and perilous war, involving a great part of Europe and Asia in its operations, which she brought to a close with great honour and glory to her country. Every year was marked with fresh conquests and salutary institutions, for the ten kingdoms which she was called upon to govern, which shed a halo of glory around her throne and her country, so as even to eclipse that of Peter the Great himself. Catherine had much to contend with, in the opposition of the clergy of the Russo-Greek church; and although she outwardly observed their usages and ceremonies, yet she was too enlightened to adopt their badges of superstition; but she would flatter their prejudices, and even take some pains to do so. On one occasion, on a journey to Moscow, the Empress distributed a great number of little figures of saints, which she left in the churches and chapels on the road-side, besides taking with her, in a carriage immediately following her own, a large picture, richly decorated with gold and diamonds, which she designed for the cathedral at Moscow; and, to give further proof of her respect for the orthodox religion, a few days after her arrival in that city she performed a pilgrimage to a convent about four verstes' distance, walking on foot the whole way, attended by her court. The Empress, on another occasion, accompanied by the Grand Duke, and the principal officers of her court, proceeded from the ancient palace of the Tzars to the cathedral, in order to be present at a solemn mass, and to assist at the "Te Deum," which was sung on the occasion of the peace with Turkey. That she

could have had any proper sense of religion, her profligate mode of life contradicts; nor do we find on her part any profession of faith or practice. With the most liberal toleration, all religious sects were admitted into her dominions, whether Heathen, Jew, or Christian; but she was jealous of the clergy usurping her authority, to prevent which, she deprived them even of some of their existing privileges. They became, therefore, disaffected to her government, and they excited the people to those angry feelings which sometimes prevailed amongst them, when the conscription swept off their children, and tore them from them forcibly to recruit the armies.

The foreign policy of the Empress was completely successful. She ruled Poland by dictating who should be the successor to the throne of Augustus III., although there were many candidates, and some of them supported by the most powerful Courts in Europe. Catherine determined on placing upon the throne her former favourite, Poniatowski. She said, "I will have him to be king, and king he shall be." He was supported not only by the influence, but by the arms of Russia; what the former failed to effect was accomplished by the latter, although it was contrary to the wishes of the Poles themselves.

The ambassadors of France, Spain, and of the Empire, could do nothing towards obstructing the elevation of the favourite of Catherine. Russian troops were sent in to awe the electors, and Poniatowski was elected with the title of Stanislas Augustus. The Russians now became dominant in Poland, and the Tzarina's ambassador, Prince Repnin, had more power at Warsaw than the King himself, which he exercised with the most haughty

insolence. The ambition of the Empress was boundless —and, whilst she was thus disposing of thrones, her own would sometimes totter even at a whisper of conspiracy against it. But this did not prevent her visiting some distant parts of the empire; and, just about the period of her triumph in Poland, she resolved on making the tour of Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland, accompanied by Count Gregory Orloff and a small retinue of the nobility of the court, Count Panine being left in charge as Governor of St. Petersburgh. It was during her absence on this tour, that the tragical event took place of the death of the young Prince Ivan, already related; not that it was supposed the Empress had at all precipitated the tragedy, but that the conspirators, taking advantage of her absence, endeavoured to rescue the poor captive from prison, and that his being put to death was in consequence of her former orders. Having briefly recapitulated the events of the domestic reign of Catherine II. to this period, we shall now revert to her Foreign Conquests, which form some of the most splendid annals of the Sovereigns of Russia.

## CHAPTER IV.

Catherine's Designs on Poland—Prince Henry of Prussia visits St. Petersburgh—His splendid Reception and Entertainment—Grand Fête at Tzarsko-Zelo—the Partition of Poland agreed to—the Emperor of Germany invited to be a Party to it—Signatures of the Treaty, and the Divisions of Territory agreed to by the Allied Powers—their Pretences to these Territories advanced by them—The Intestine Divisions of Poland—She invites the Allied Troops to assist her—their March into Poland—the Partition Treaty notified to the Diet—the Resistance of the Poles—their Accepting the Treaty at the Dictation of the Three Sovereigns—Manifesto of the Empress to her new Subjects—the Degraded State of Poland—Alarm of the European Cabinets—the Poles appeal to the Grand Seignior—Mustafa III. declares War against Russia—Immense Preparations of the Empress—the Successes of the Russians both by Sea and Land—the Battle of Tchesmé—Admiral Elphinstone—the Turkish Fleet totally Destroyed—the Honours and Rewards conferred on the British Admiral—the Plague introduced into Russia by the Turks—its Dreadful Ravages at Moscow—Orloff's Sanitary Measures—Hostilities Renewed with the Turks—Invasion of the Krimea—Conquest of that Country—Terror of the Tartars—The Khan flies to Constantinople—Further Successes of the Russian Troops—Peace of Kanardji—Triumph of the Russian Arms—Munificence of the Empress—History of the Princess Tarakanoff—Great Prosperity of the Russian Empire—Prince Henry of Prussia's second Visit to St. Petersburgh—Sir James Harris, British Ambassador at that Court—his Reports of the Brilliant Fetes of the Empress—the Affairs of Poland—March of the Russian Armies into the Republic—The Polish hero, Kosciusko—his Early History—is appointed Generalissimo and Dictator—his Encountering the Russian Troops—his Great Bravery—Disgraceful Proceedings of the Poles at Warsaw—Retreat of the Allies from the Capital—Suwarrow's Approach—Battle of Matscheviz—Total Defeat of the Poles—Kosciusko made Prisoner—Suwarrow entering Warsaw—the Siege of Praga—Horrible Barbarities of the Russian General—Poland blotted out from the Map of Nations.

THE Empress Catherine, having succeeded in dictating a king to Poland, soon began to manifest her secret design on that country, which was that of partition, and not to serve her former favourite, Poniatowski. She thought herself secure in the submission of the king, since he was only her slave, and through him she relied on retaining the whole of Poland in dependence on Russia, until it was convenient for her to appropriate those States, which she had determined to annex to her empire. And here we must record the greatest stain on the political character of the Tzarina's reign,—a disgrace not only to Russia, but to the annals of Europe, since no Sovereign was found to come forward and prevent the iniquitous and bloody partition of Poland. Stanislaus was soon made to feel that he was only the crowned vassal of the Empress, to do her will in the Diet, and she perpetually swayed him to such measures as threatened its existence; which, whilst it lasted, was merely an act of sufferance on the part of Catherine, whose general, Prince Repnin, ruled at Warsaw at the head of 10,000 troops, which were first sent to Stanislaus as a friendly contingent, but were subsequently allowed to occupy the city.

There seems to be no doubt that the intended partition of Poland originated with the Tzarina, since it was only carrying out the policy of the Russian Cabinet, which, from the time of Peter the Great, had regarded Poland as a dependency of Russia; but the Empress required some other sovereign to share in the grand design, and she had no difficulty in bringing over the King of Prussia to her views. In order to arrange their plans, Prince Henry, the King's brother, was sent to St. Petersburgh, ostensibly on a complimentary visit to the

Empress, but in reality to arrange for the spoliation of Poland, and the division of her territory. To avoid suspicion, it was given out that the Prince intended to visit his sister, the Queen of Sweden, and was to return by Denmark; whilst he was still at Stockholm, he accepted an invitation from the Empress Catherine to spend a few days at St. Petersburgh, under the pretence of paying his respects to her Majesty; and he arrived in that capital towards the close of the year 1770, where he was received with the almost gorgeous ostentation of an Asiatic court. Nothing could exceed the splendour of the fêtes and tournaments got up to entertain the Prussian Prince, and the sumptuous entertainments given to him at Tzarsko-Zelo by the great Sovereign of the North, whose fascinating and right royal reception was the theme of all praise. This summer residence of the Empress was fitted up in a style which eclipsed all other royal state of Europe; it is situated about twelve verstes from St. Petersburgh.*

It was at this grand seat of magnificence and taste, that Catherine gave the famous entertainment to Prince Henry of Prussia. "At the coming on of the night, the Empress, the Grand Duke, Prince Henry, and several persons of the court, to the number of sixteen, seated themselves in an immense sledge, drawn by sixteen horses, and covered and enclosed by double glasses, which reflected the numberless objects both within and without. The sledge, followed by upwards of two thousand others, set out from St. Petersburgh, every person of the whole company being masked, and dressed either in a fancy habit or domino.

"At the distance of two verstes from the capital, the sledges

* Tooke.

passed under a grand triumphal arch, illuminated with lamps of various colours, and adorned with transparent emblems. At every succeeding verste was some grand structure—a pyramid of lamps, a magnificent temple, illuminated colonnades, or fireworks in full display; and opposite to these, at every verste on the other side of the road, was a house of public entertainment, erected for the purpose, where rustics of both sexes, shepherds and shepherdesses, were seen dancing and amusing themselves in various ways, as at a country wake; every public-house of this sort representing some different nation, all the people being habited in the dress of the country, the inhabitants of which they personated; the music and dancing were likewise in strict conformity with their habits. At other intervals, vaulting, tumbling, interludes, &c., were being performed.

"At about two verstes from Tzarsko-Zelo, a high mountain rose to view, seen through an avenue cut in the wood, and representing Mount Vesuvius during an eruption, vomiting torrents of flame, and illuminating the atmosphere to a great distance; this artificial eruption continued during all the time the sledges passed in sight of the mountain, till they entered the lofty portal through the rock into the Chinese village, and proceeded to the palace, the inside of which was lighted by an immense number of wax-lights. In various apartments the company danced during two hours. All at once, a grand discharge of cannon was heard, on which the ball ended, the candles were extinguished, and all the people ran to the windows, where they enjoyed the sight of magnificent fireworks the whole length of the palace. This having lasted for some time, a thundering discharge of artillery was again heard, when all the candles were lighted once

more as if by enchantment, and a splendid supper was already served up. After rising from table, the dancing was renewed, and continued till a late hour in the morning."*

On the site of the palace of Tzarsko-Zelo, a cottage had formerly stood, belonging to an old Dutchwoman named Sarah, from whom Peter the Great purchased it, and gave it to his favourite Catherine, and by her orders a house was built upon the spot, very simple in its ornamental decorations, and small in its proportions. The Empress Elizabeth gave orders to have it pulled down, and to build there a magnificent palace The building was gilded within and without with an immense waste of the precious metal; but the golden roof could not stand the rigour of a Russian climate, and the annual expenses of repairing it were so great, that the Empress Catherine ordered the gilding to be taken off. A customer offered for the rejected gold a large sum, but her Majesty scornfully replied, that "she was not accustomed to sell her old chattels." Tzarsko-Zelo, or the "Palace of the Czars," was at this time fitted up in a style which eclipsed all other royal residences of Europe, so astonishing had been the progress of magnificence and splendour during this reign.† Another of the fêtes,

* Tooke.

† The gardens were the most carefully kept in the world; if but a leaf dropped, it was immediately picked up by one of the four or five hundred gardeners kept to polish the walks and clean the trees. The interior presented a magnificence almost equal to the descriptions of the Arabian Nights, with Chinese halls, Turkish colonnades, and Persian kiosks. The walls of one hall were covered with amber in the most beautiful devices of flowers and birds, columns of mother-of-pearl, and other ornaments of agate and porphyry; whilst the grounds were ornamented with triumphal arches, bronze statues, Chinese villages, cascades, and waterfalls. Such was the splendour of this country palace when I saw it, but all description falls short.—Author.

described by an English spectator "to be so gorgeous, and at the same time so fantastic, that I could not help thinking myself present at one of the magnificent festivals described in old-fashioned romances, where there were fireworks describing the various conquests and victories obtained during the present reign." *

All Europe rang with the festivities given in the Russian capital to Prince Henry of Prussia, the better to conceal from the world the real object of his visit. The Prince passed the evenings with the Empress when the destinies of Poland were decided upon. When the Prince took his leave, the Empress presented him with a splendid star of the Order of St. Andrew set in brilliants, together with a diamond ring containing her portrait, valued at forty thousand roubles. She also presented him with several gold medals, and made presents to all the persons of his suite.

A treaty was entered into by the royal parties as to the respective shares in the partition of Poland for both Russia and Prussia; but a third party was necessary to carry it into effect, lest other European Powers might take part with Poland, and it was resolved upon to offer the Emperor of Germany a third of the spoils; the Empress saying to her guest,—"I will frighten Turkey, and will flatter England; do you take upon you to buy over Austria, that she may amuse France." †

Prince Henry left St. Petersburgh to arrange the treaty with Austria: Catherine is said to have refused to be the first to name it to the Court of Vienna, whilst the great Frederic had less scruple to draw into this treaty his royal brother, the Emperor Joseph II. The treaty of St. Petersburgh was not signed until two years

* Tooke. † Ibid.

after, viz., on the 5th of August, 1772, by which Prussia acquired five Palatinates, and a part of Great Poland, including about 1000 square leagues, and a million of subjects. Austria had four large divisions of the kingdom, about 2700 square leagues, and two millions and a half of people; whilst Russia came in for the lion's share of territory, amounting to 3440 square leagues, and a million and a half of people. This was only the first partition, but there is no doubt it was their intention to seize the remainder on the first convenient occasion.

Some pretences had, of course, to be advanced to support these claims. Prussia put forward the ancient rights of the Electors of Brandenburgh and Dukes of Pomerania. Austria's pretences were on some rights anciently possessed by the Hungarian crown; but Russia had no ancient treaties to fall back upon, so the Tzarina boldly at once claimed large provinces to defray some pretended expenses which she had incurred in defending the republic from foreign invasion: how to execute the treaty was the next step. Unhappy Poland was at this time distracted by intestine divisions in her government; the legislative power had succeeded in destroying itself, and no other could supply its place; the people became divided into hostile and independent parties: a new constitution had been proclaimed, but the power of the king was too limited to carry it into effect.

In this extremity, the nobles of the country called upon the Tzarina to aid them in maintaining their ancient privileges against the usurped power of the democracy, and the other contending parties called on Russia and on Austria to aid them in their struggles with the factious nobles. These powers were not long

in marching their forces into a country, which they had just entered into a treaty to divide; and in their manifestoes they set forth that they were expressly invited to heal the distractions of the kingdom. Their march into Poland was looked upon with considerable jealousy by the different cabinets of Europe, who could not understand why these formidable powers should seize upon a country, on the pretence of assisting it, in a time of profound peace, the independence of which had been guaranteed by the most solemn treaties. Thus was Poland invaded by the three most powerful monarchs of Europe. The formal notification of the pretensions to the Polish territory was, in the month of September, 1772, announced to the King and Senate assembled at Warsaw. The minister of the Emperor was the first to notify the treaty of St. Petersburgh to the King and the Diet of Poland. The ambassadors of Prussia and of Russia presented to them, almost immediately afterwards, declarations in support of the treaty.

A manifesto was then published at Warsaw by the ministers of these three sovereigns, in which they avowed their intentions. A Diet was demanded by them to ratify the cession of the provinces, and, after some delay, it was convoked by the King in the following summons:—"Since there are no hopes from any quarter, and any further delay will only tend to draw down the most dreadful calamities upon the remainder of the dominions which are left to the republic, the Diet is convened for the 19th April, 1773, according to the will of the three courts. In order to avoid all cause of reproach, the King, with the advice of the Senate, again appeals to the guarantees of the treaty of Oliva."

The Diet met at the appointed time, and such was the

spirit of the members, notwithstanding the threats and bribes of the three powers, that the partition treaty was carried through with much difficulty. In the Senate the majority was only six, and in the Lower House it was carried by a single vote only; although the Ambassadors of the three Powers threatened the King with deposition and imprisonment; and their emissaries alarmed the people by saying that Warsaw should be pillaged. Delegates were then appointed to concert with the Ambassadors the terms of dismemberment; and, by the month of September, the treaty of partition was at length concluded, in conformity with the dictates of the three courts, but not until a year had elapsed when the delegates, surrounded with foreign bayonets, were terrified or seduced into compliance with the dictation of the three allied powers.

The treaty was signed on the 18th April, 1775, which was soon after followed by a declaration from the several powers, of the countries which they meant respectively to appropriate, when the Tzarina seized on various provinces and people, which were incorporated for ever with the Russian Empire. The Empress in her address to her new subjects solemnly promised, "the free and public exercise of their religion, and security in their property; and, looking upon them as her dear children, they should be equal sharers in all the rights, liberties, and prerogatives of her ancient subjects, in return for which she expected they would render themselves worthy of them, by a sincere love for their new country, and an inviolable attachment to so magnanimous a sovereign." All the inhabitants, from the highest to the lowest, were at the same time strictly commanded to take a solemn oath of allegiance to her Tzarian Majesty in the course of a month; but those who did not choose to conform

thereto were allowed three months to sell their lands, and to retire freely, after which time their lands and goods were to be confiscated. The declaration also assured to the Jews the free exercise of their religion, and promised that a strict discipline should be observed by the troops; it likewise ordered that the Empress and the Grand Duke should be prayed for in all the churches. The indignant Polés cried out, and were determined to resist; but, as they were divided among themselves, no forces could be brought against the invaders.

Catherine had now absolute sway at Warsaw through her general, Prince Repnin, who held the King in absolute contempt. One day his Majesty came to pay him a visit, and he put on a morning-gown to receive him. He kept the performance of the opera waiting, although the King had been long in the theatre, and in every way treated him with the greatest indignity. Thus was this once great kingdom of Poland, whose hussars had made the Osmanlies tremble under John Sobieski, whose princes had occupied the palaces of the Tzars, and whose troops had been quartered in the towers of the Kremlin, stripped of one fifth of her territory and of her population, by order of the three allied powers. By this time, the European Cabinets became alarmed at these daring usurpations of the three greatest Sovereigns in Europe; the Courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, remonstrated against the usurpation, but remonstrances without assistance could have no effect. Poland submitted to the dismemberment, but not without violent struggles. Several nobles issued manifestoes and remonstrances in various parts of the kingdom against the cession of the provinces, and to reprobate the conduct of the partitioning powers.

England's King had been the dupe of Catherine's policy. He sacrificed the glory of combining confederate states in support of an oppressed people, to preserve the precarious advantages of Russian commerce. The Courts of Denmark and Sweden were occupied with domestic dissensions, whilst France was not in circumstances to interfere with spirit; her revenues were in disorder, her trade had declined, and the licentiousness and imbecility of Louis XV., who had lost the affections of his subjects, exposed him to the contempt of Russia. Thus, every thing combined to aid the most wanton aggression on a friendly power ever recorded in history.

At length the Poles made application to the Grand Seignior to assist them in preventing the encroachments of Russia as one of the partitioning powers, knowing how jealous the Porte was of the constant aggrandizement of the great Sovereign of the North. Before the partition, Poland contained about 14,000,000 inhabitants; there now remained only 9,000,000. The government for what then remained of the country was settled at the same time by the three invaders. The monarchy was declared to be elective, although the constitution more resembled that of a republic, since the power of the King was so limited, and the executive was vested in a permanent council. The King, Stanislaus Augustus, once the favourite, and now the crowned vassal of Catherine, was in great favour with the people, and is described as having been handsome in person, uncommonly pleasing in his address and manners, with great condescension, tempered with dignity; he was a perfect master of the English language, which he had acquired when in England, with strong predilections for every thing English.*

* See Cox's Travels.

The Porte entered warmly into the cause of the oppressed Poles, and Mustafa III. commenced hostilities immediately against Russia, without any other declaration of war than that of sending their Ambassador to the Castle of the Seven Towers. This insult was ably met by the Empress, who dreaded neither the threats nor the undisciplined hordes of the Ottoman forces; her Majesty shewed great dignity and firmness on the occasion. On the events of this war against the Turks depended the fate of Poland, and the consideration in which Russia should be held in Europe, which stimulated the courage and strengthened the resolve of Catherine the Second. Immense preparations were made for the Turkish war—new fleets were built, and thousands of recruits raised, and sent to join the camp.

Russia seemed to be pouring out her whole strength to conquer the barbarians, and to revenge the insulting treatment of their Ambassador. Hostilities were commenced, on the part of Catherine, by the invasion of the Krimea, the Khan of which territory was the vassal of the Porte; Asoph and Taganrog were soon taken, and for a time great success attended the Russian arms. The campaign was opened by the Turks with all that "furore" which characterizes the Ottoman troops; but they could do nothing against the disciplined Russian army, under the command of Prince Galitzin, who, after ten months of partial success over them, was recalled. Field-marshal Romanzoff was appointed to prosecute the war more vigorously.

In the campaign of 1770, he gained two important battles, one of them on the borders of the Pruth; he then attacked the Turkish camp, which, being situated between the mountains, seemed to be almost impreg-

nable, but he succeeded in driving them from their intrenchments, and in capturing thirty-eight pieces of cannon. The Grand Vizir fled towards the Danube, where he was joined by another Turkish army, amounting to 150,000 men, which gave him an immense numerical advantage over the Russians, who were attacked on all sides, and during five hours they sustained the fierce onslaught of the Turks with the greatest bravery, and at length succeeded in driving them to their intrenchments at the point of the bayonet. The rout of the Turks then became complete; the Vizir fled at the head of his flying squadrons, and the camp fell into the hands of the Russians, who captured there one hundred and forty-three pieces of brass guns, seven thousand waggons, with provisions and munitions of war, which supplied them with the means of gaining new victories.

The Turks are said to have lost fifty thousand men in the contest, and during their disastrous flight the Russians penetrated as far as Bender, an important fortress, which had formerly given an asylum to Charles XII. This place, though stoutly defended, was taken by Count Panine, and it proved a great acquisition to the Russians. But their triumphs were soon to be more complete by sea than by land: the Turkish fleet, which had retired to the Archipelago, took shelter in a canal at the island of Scio; here they were pursued by the Russian squadron, under the orders of Admiral Alexis Orloff.

This great naval battle of the Russians, in which their fleet was so distinguished, was principally gained by the courage and daring intrepidity of three British subjects, Messrs. Elphinstone, Greig, and Dugdale.*

* The author is indebted for his information of the battle of Tchesmé

In 1769, the Empress applied to his Britannic Majesty for an experienced naval officer, to command a secret and particular expedition, when Captain John Elphinstone, who had previously distinguished himself in several engagements, was selected for that purpose, and conditions were entered into that he should have the rank of Senior Rear-Admiral; that he should be Commander-in-Chief of the whole fleet; and, lastly, should return to England when called upon by his own government. He took with him his two eldest sons, one of them to serve as his military secretary and aide-de-camp. On his arrival at St. Petersburgh, he was most graciously received by the Empress and the Grand Duke Paul, the Russian High Admiral. Apartments were provided for him and his sons at the palace, the imperial equipage was to attend them, and they were the guests of the Grand Duke during their stay in the capital.

The admiral found considerable difficulty in completing the outfit of his fleet, and, in order to complete his squadron, he was obliged to take it to England, and succeeded in doing so at Portsmouth. He was received at the British Court with all the honours due to a Russian admiral, and was waited upon by the ambassador from that court, M. Poushkin, who delivered to him, by command of his Sovereign, the following rescript from her imperial Majesty:—"We, Catherine II., by the grace of God Empress of all the Russias, &c. From your letters to our actual privy counsellor, Count de Panine, we learn, with particular satisfaction, of your happy arrival in a port of Great Britain; we have not

to a descendant of Admiral Elphinstone, who is in possession of all his original documents on the subject; and the autograph of the Empress is copied from the Imperial Rescript.

seen with less pleasure the zeal, so very commendable, and equal in every respect to the sincere love of a son born in this country. Our imperial favour is for that reason an acknowledgment of its merits, and we, therefore, testify our sense of that zeal, by assuring you of our sovereign benevolence, and by declaring to you hereby, that our favour and confidence in you will increase continually in proportion that your own merits may augment relative to us. We should wish to have heard at the same time, that the officers under your command answer on their part fully, and in every thing, like true subjects, to your zeal, by a punctual, quick, and earnest execution of the orders they receive from you, as the chief we have put over them; thus, by a faithful accomplishment of their duty, we shall judge of their merits, and *that* we desire from this time.

"With this intent, We order you to assemble all the officers in port, and to cause this rescript to be read publicly before them, copies to be sent to those absent, and on board each ship; so that all, from the lowest to the highest, will see the great confidence we have in you, and in consequence the testimony you give of their conduct, will be the foundation upon which we will think for them, being certain, from your known personal honour, that your testimony will be impartial. To conclude, we give you our repeated assurances of our favour and imperial benevolence, &c., &c.—Given at St. Petersburgh, the 29th of January, 1770 (O.S.)" Signed. The ambassador likewise delivered to Admiral Elphinstone a letter from Count Panine, of which the following is a copy:—

"I received your two letters from Portsmouth, and immediately laid them before the Empress. It would

be needless for me to dwell upon the gracious reception and perfect approbation with which they were received by her imperial Majesty, since she has chosen to let you know it yourself with the greatest distinction by the rescript, signed by her own hand, which I have the honour to send herewith. You will see in it, Sir, the unlimited confidence which her imperial Majesty reposes in your zeal and capacity, and the care she takes to excite, by the strongest motives, the officers under your command to follow the praiseworthy example of their chief. It is a satisfaction to me to congratulate you upon so flattering a distinction and precept, of the content which her imperial Majesty has for your services. You will receive them perhaps among your family, which will add to the agreeableness of your situation by their partaking of it, and who will be proud to recite them, and preserve the glorious testimony of your merit before a sovereign as capable of approving them as disposed to acknowledge them.—And believe me to be ever, with the truest friendship, COUNT PANINE."

On the 13th April, 1770, Admiral Elphinstone left Spithead for the Mediterranean with three sail of the line, two frigates, and four transports, with troops, and arms and ammunition for the Greeks, who were joining the Russian army in the Morea (then commanded by Lieutenant-general Count Alexis Orloff), and hoisted his flag in the Sevatslaw of eighty-four guns. The admiral's friend, the Earl of Effingham, an experienced military officer, who had volunteered for the expedition, took a passage with him. Before arriving at the appointed place, near Navarino, the admiral landed the troops, &c. (that port being in possession of Count Orloff and Admiral Spiridion's squadron), and on getting

information that the Turkish fleet was at Napoli de Romana, he immediately proceeded in search of them, sending to the other squadron for a reinforcement, which never came till long after he had brought the enemy to action with only three sail of the line and two frigates, although the Turkish fleet consisted of twenty-six sail; ten of the line, some fifties and large frigates, which the admiral forced out of the port on the 27th May, and the same evening engaged them till late at night, when he forced them to anchor under protection of their batteries, continuing the two next days to attack the fleet and the forts.

The British admiral then went in quest of a reinforcement, and after three days he met with the other squadron. He soon afterwards got sight of the enemy under sail, and made the general signal for a chase; but the enemy sailing faster before the wind, they were lost sight of for four days, nor was their ultimate destination known, and it was not till the 4th of July that they were discovered at anchor between Scio and the mainland forming the entrance to the bay and harbour of Tchesmé. Admiral Elphinstone then formed the order of battle, bore up and attacked the enemy's fleet by noon on that day, at forty minutes past one p.m. Admiral Spiridion's ship by some accident fell foul of one of the enemy's, which was on fire, and in a few minutes the fire was up to the mast-head. The admiral and a few officers had not long quitted the ship, when the burning main-mast of the Turkish vessel fell on board his ship, and set her on fire; the latter blew up, and forty minutes later the Turkish ship blew up likewise. The enemy's fleet then cut their cables, and got into Tchesmé harbour, but were followed and engaged in their flight by the Rus-

sians, who kept up a constant fire all night against the batteries, &c., throwing shells from a bomb that had just arrived; the entrance of the harbour being very narrow, the Turks had moored broadside three of their largest vessels across the entrance to block it up. Admiral Elphinstone immediately fitted out three fire-ships, Greek vessels, which Count Alexis Orloff procured him, the Count having had under his orders several Greek vessels at Navarino, and had been for some time on board Admiral Greig's ship.

Admiral Spiridion, who had arrived in the bomb-ship, went on board a small vessel of the squadron, and took no further active part in command till after the enemy's fleet was destroyed. On the 7th July, the fire-ships being ready, Commodore Greig requested Admiral Elphinstone to give him three ships of his squadron to cover them, and at eleven at night he stood in for that purpose under a heavy fire from the batteries, and began to attack the Turkish fleet. The admiral gave the command of one of the largest fire-ships to Lieutenant Mackenzie of his own ship, with a good English boat's crew, who brought him back safely after firing the Turkish ships; the second was given to Lieutenant Dugdale of the other squadron, who was not so fortunate in returning, he being dreadfully scorched, and having to swim for it, till picked up by another boat; he attached the first fire-ship to the cable of a Turkish vessel, which began to take fire, and soon after their whole fleet was enveloped in flames; it was commanded by the Capitan Pasha, on board the Sultan of ninety guns. The sails of a Turkish ship to windward were set on fire by a shell from a howitzer of one of Admiral Elphinstone's squadron, the "Netremina," and in fifteen minutes her

masts were in flames, and by half-past twelve she blew up, communicating the fire to several others, when the Russians ceased firing, since the ruin of the enemy was inevitable. The tremendous scene of the burning of the Turkish fleet is thus recorded by the Admiral himself:—"To describe so prodigious a conflagration would require the pen and pencil of the most ingenious: the enemy being so near the shore, at every explosion millions of lights appeared on the hills, setting on fire the fine aromatic shrubs, and before these were extinguished, succeeding explosions lighted them afresh; neither were the ships idle, for as their cables burned, they altered their positions, and their guns, being loaded, fired as they became heated, and sounded like minute guns to their occupiers." Before daylight, twelve of the largest ships blew up, and the remainder soon after, when Admiral Elphinstone sent armed boats to try and get out some of the ships, but all were burned except one of sixty guns, and three half galleys; these they brought out, and also the Turkish admiral's state barge, with his silk flag and baton of office, which was twenty inches long, of silver gilt, richly embossed with a knob in the centre, and one at each end, the distinction of a Pasha of three tails. It was in a case of scarlet cloth, with a belt to hang over the shoulders.*

It is estimated that nearly a hundred of the enemy's vessels were destroyed, including merchantmen, at this signal victory of Tchesmé. The Turkish sailors who reached the shores, dispersed in bands of brigandage, giving themselves up to their "telleh" or "fate." The

* These trophies of victory were presented to the Grand Duke Paul as high admiral, by Admiral Elphinstone, on his return to St. Petersburgh.

Osmanlies are all fatalists, and since they think that what *must* happen *will* happen, they soon become resigned. When the last ship was burnt, it was Admiral Elphinstone's wish to proceed immediately to the Dardanelles with the whole fleet, to force the passage, and announce his great victory at the Sultan's palace at Constantinople; but the other squadron not being in a condition to join him, he left with his own ships to blockade the Dardanelles, in accordance with the Empress' former orders, and remained there until recalled to St. Petersburgh, and then by his own government, he having so gloriously terminated the services on which he was employed by the Empress Catherine, by whom he is said to have been munificently rewarded.* Admiral Greig soon became distinguished in the Russian naval service. The Russian admiral was loaded with honours by his Sovereign. He was created Prince Tchesminskoi, and decorated with the Order of St. George. He prepared fresh conquests over the Turks, who were partially revenged in an adventitious manner, even from their own calamities, in a way which proved the greatest scourge to the Russians. The crews of the Turkish vessels communicated the plague to those of the Russian fleet, and by them it was spread through the different provinces of the empire, desolating them as far as Moscow, where for a long time it made dreadful ravages.

* No pension was, however, awarded to the Admiral, or to his descendants. Nor did he die in Russia, as has been stated by some historians. On the contrary, he distinguished himself in the service of his country after leaving Russia, and died in London. The arrears of his pay and prize-money, with interest on them, are due to his heir *at this day*. The Admiral was even obliged to hire a merchant ship, at his own expense, to bring himself and his sons from St. Petersburgh to England.

The ignorant people, instead of taking means for putting a stop to it, had recourse to their superstitions, and invoked images and saints to save them from the scourge of pestilence. Nor did they take the ordinary means of quarantine regulations.

The cruel ravages of the disorder were not, however, more shocking to humanity, than the effects they produced upon the barbarous temper of the people. Some crafty impostor, or fanatical enthusiast, pretended to a revelation from Heaven, by which the people were to be informed that a certain image of a saint was endowed with efficacy to cure those that were infected, and to preserve those that were not. This imposture drew together such innumerable crowds of people, infected and otherwise, that numbers were trampled to death, and the sick dropped down dead in the midst of the healthy. Thus the contagion was communicated in such a manner as made every effort to restrain its progress fruitless, and the populace, by assembling in large bodies, broke out into the most violent outrages and disorders: thousands of people prostrated themselves before this image, imploring its aid and protection.

The impostors who conducted this iniquitous transaction, placed a large chest upon the spot to receive the money, which the people deposited as an offering to the saint. To put a stop to these proceedings, Ambrosius, the Archbishop of Moscow, sent proper officers, who sealed up the chest, and removed the image or picture out of the church in which it was placed, to the Synod. The people, blinded by superstition, and maddened by sufferings, proceeded in a prodigious body to the archbishop's residence, which they plundered, and having ascertained that he had fled, to avoid their fury, to the

Donskoi monastery, they followed him there, and, breaking open the church in which he had sheltered himself, they dragged their venerable pastor from the altar, and put him to death in the most savage and barbarous manner.

A body of troops was employed to quell the rioters, and, firing on the crowd, killed a great number of them; some hundreds of prisoners were made, who underwent different degrees of punishment. The most remarkable circumstance in this tragical affair was the massacre of the archbishop by the populace, since the veneration with which the Russian people then regarded their clergy, was scarcely perhaps exceeded by any in the world. The revolt was not effectually put down until Count Gregory Orloff, then Prince of the empire, was sent by the Empress to Moscow to strive to avert this dreadful calamity. He went amongst the people, and by his example encouraged them to take some steps to cut off contagion, and by his courage and fearlessness in dispersing the people, and by establishing a quarantine for the disaffected parts of the city, the awful pestilence was at length stayed, and the empire delivered from the greatest scourge that ever happened to it during the reign of Catherine.

The plague first appeared in Moscow, in November, 1770; but, for some time, it was principally confined to a hospital, which for six weeks was put under quarantine, and not until March, 1771, was it generally known that an unusual mortality had carried off the work-people belonging to a large linen manufactory. On the 11th of that month, all the people were sent away from it; the infection was then pronounced to be the plague, and that it was brought by people coming from the seat

of war; the sound as well as the sick from the manufactory, were kept under close inspection, but several had previously made their escape, so that the infection was constantly spreading.

A medical council of eleven physicians was appointed by the Senate to give their report as to the nature of the disease, which was then making such ravages, and they all pronounced it to be the dreadful disorder of the plague, and immediately adopted sanitary measures, such as sending away the infected persons; but to do this effectually was impossible. The Empress seemed to surmise that their measures were inefficient; hence she sent Lieutenant-General Yerapih with a special commission, to place in every quarter of the city an inspector of the malady, and all the physicians were enjoined to pay obedience to his commands; daily lists were given of the progress of the pestilence, (until this time no bills of mortality had ever been framed at Moscow,) an order was given, signed by the Empress' own hand, to carry all bodies out of the city for burial, and some of the entrances to the city were fastened up; but this order respecting the burial was most imperfectly obeyed, many corpses were concealed, and secretly interred. So many of the people had already left the city, that at the end of September but few inhabitants were remaining in it. In the month of September, more than twenty-one thousand persons died, or about one-sixth of the inhabitants, and as the flight of the rich and noble had continued for some months, the infection was widely spread in the country; all the tippling-houses and the baths were shut up, and the ravages of the plague were manifested in so dreadful a manner, that many of the inhabitants endeavoured to provide for their own safety by locking up their houses and court-yards.

The common people regarded all the applications recommended by the magistracy only with great dislike; they considered the quarantines and sick-houses, &c., as unnecessary inventions of the physicians; and they would have murdered the chief physician, Schafouski, had not an inspector of the quarter come to his rescue.

It was on the 16th of September, that the Archbishop of Moscow was murdered by the populace; the Empress was much alarmed to hear of the state of things, and resolved to set out for the city herself; but this journey meeting with insurmountable difficulties, she dispatched Count Orloff thither, with full powers to put into execution every thing he should deem necessary for the extirpation of this dreadful calamity. His presence, and the regulations adopted by him, were soon attended with beneficial effects; several of those who had quitted the city returned, and even the behaviour of the common people took a different turn.

Two boards of commissioners were appointed, the one for preventing the contagion, the other for counteracting its effects; they were to make all the regulations they could devise for these purposes, and the physicians, apothecaries, and hospitals, were dependent upon them. They published a printed paper of directions, what means to use as preservatives from the plague, and pointing out to such as were already attacked by it, what would most contribute to their recovery; gratuities were given to those who were discharged, in consequence of a cure; thus the aversion the lower orders had to the treatment was overcome, and many people came who feigned themselves sick, in order to obtain the gratuity. For the children of parents who had died of the plague, Count

Orloff ordered the erection of an orphan-house, and, on 21st November, he returned to St. Petersburgh. By this time, the miserable inhabitants of Moscow were convinced of their error concerning the nature of this disorder; and, by concurring in all the measures adopted by the government, the number of deaths diminished from day to day, till at length, in January 1772, not a trace of the pestilence remained. The sufferings in this great city were extreme during this awful visitation; a total stop was put to all business, and many houses were shut up, yet people were to be seen in the streets. All the occupations of life were suspended, and every day brought horrible scenes of desolation and affright; to prevent a scarcity, the government erected large houses, in which the necessary articles of consumption were deposited.

Notwithstanding the precautions adopted by the commissioners, it was found necessary to denounce the penalty of death against such as should convey away goods and property belonging to infected persons, from houses that were standing empty, or from open graves, and for despoiling the bodies of such as had died of the plague, or the dwelling-houses and courts, the inhabitants of which had been infected with the malady; of six thousand, it is computed that one half died, and it is estimated that not one-fourth of the dwelling-houses remained free from the visitation, but of the total number of deaths no return is given. Not until the 6th September, 1775, did the commission for stopping the plague close its labours, when Moscow was declared free from it. The expenses occasioned to the state by this public calamity were very heavy; the preservation of Moscow alone, cost the Crown four hundred thousand roubles. Ad-

mirable and humane as the government regulations were on the occasion, yet no less so were the pains taken by the commissioners for rendering this dreadful experience useful to posterity. They published a copious narrative of practical observations and their results, with a number of excellent rules to serve as a pattern and foundation for the methods to be pursued in similar cases.

The war against the Porte was pursued with considerable vigour; but the Ottomans, although repeatedly vanquished, were still enabled to resist the efforts of the Russians to penetrate into their territory.

In the month of March, a considerable body of Turks, amounting to 10,000 men, were beaten out of Giurgevo, on the Wallachian side of the Danube, where they were strongly intrenched under the walls of a castle well furnished with cannon; the Turks made obstinate resistance, and the action became very bloody on both sides. The conquest of Krim Tartary was no doubt the great object of this campaign—an object of the greatest importance to Russia in two points of view, that of detaching the Tartars totally from the Turks, and establishing herself mistress of the Black Sea. The Tartars were very little able to cope with the Russians in the field; but though little to be feared as opponents, they were capable of being converted into useful auxiliaries. The peninsula, then called Krim Tartary, and anciently the Taurida Chersonesus, is surrounded on all sides by the Black Sea, except where it is joined to the continent of Little Tartary by a narrow isthmus, something less than five English miles in breadth; this isthmus received its name from the ancient city of Precop, which is built at its entrance on the side of the peninsula, and there the

Turks had constructed some very strong works from the Black Sea to the Palus Mæotis. The Tartars considered these works to be impregnable, but Count Munich forced them without much difficulty. Prince Dolgorouky, having arrived before the lines at Precop, found them defended by Khan Selim Gherai in person, with an army of 50,000 Tartars and 7,000 Turks. On the 25th June he made the necessary dispositions for an assault, which he put in execution two days afterwards. It was begun at two o'clock, and at six the lines were forced in every part, although the Tartars defended them bravely. The conquerors took a number of cannon and other trophies, and say that they lost but few men. The Turkish garrison of Precop surrendered the next day, and could obtain no conditions for themselves but that of being received as prisoners of war.

The Russians now over-ran the peninsula at will; the Turkish garrison deserted Kostoff without waiting for their arrival, and, having destroyed some fortifications, went on board some ships that were in the harbour for their own country. Arabat ventured to make some resistance, but was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword. Prince Dolgorouky next directed his march to Caffa, a very considerable city, and the metropolis of the Krimea, where he defeated a considerable body of the enemy under the walls; most of the Turks took advantage of the ships in the harbour to make their escape, after which the city was surrendered without opposition by the Seraskier; the remainder of the garrison, which consisted of about 1,000 men, were made prisoners of war. The panic was now so great, that the Turks, without waiting the approach of the enemy, abandoned the important fortresses of Tuman, Jenicola, and the

castle of Kertsch, which commanded the straits between the Black Sea and that of Asoph; these now fell into the hands of the Russians without any difficulty. The Tartars every where submitted, and entered into conditions with the conquerors; and their unfortunate Khan, having made his escape to Constantinople, it is said that he died there of grief. Thus the whole peninsula of Krim Tartary, except the fortress of Bellactanu, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

During these transactions, the Turks made efforts to open the campaign on the side of the Danube, and endeavoured to relieve Port Zene, which was beseiged by General Potemkin, but in this design they failed. Prince Repnin commanded on the side of Wallachia, and General Romanzoff, under his orders, advanced towards the enemy, who had formed strong intrenchments with a camp of 30,000 men, and the marshal had orders to attack them, in which he failed of success, pleading the inadequacy of his force. This produced a quarrel between the two generals; the command was then given to General Essen, who attacked the Turkish intrenchments, from which, after an engagement of four hours, the Russians were obliged to retreat, with the loss of between three and four thousand killed and wounded, and some guns. They were pursued some way by the Turks, and this was the only action during the war in which success attended their arms.

At this period of the campaign the respective armies went into winter-quarters, and the war was conducted in a very languid manner; but, in the spring of the year, General Weirman marched to attack the Grand Vizir in his fortified camp, at a place called Babadagh, when the Turks were completely routed, the intrenchments

and batteries carried, and the town and castle taken, whilst the Vizir and his beaten army took refuge in Mount Hemus. The Turks having abandoned Wallachia, the Russians now possessed themselves, without opposition, of the strong fortress of Giurgevo, and the Danube then alone interposed to check the hostilities between the two rival nations.

The arrival of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean carried terror even to Constantinople. The Russians endeavoured to stir up revolt in Egypt, by encouraging Ali Bey to throw off the Turkish yoke; some manifestation was made by him to that effect, but he was too feebly supported by the Russians to make the revolt of any consequence to the Turks. The banks of the Danube now became the theatre of war, and the Russians made themselves masters of Silistria. The Sultan, Mustafa III., died in the beginning of the year 1774, and his successor, Abdul Ahmet, seemed determined to prosecute hostilities with the utmost vigour. An immense army was raised, and marched towards the Danube; but these undisciplined hordes had no chance against the well-trained troops of Russia. 25,000 of them were driven back by General Soltikoff, who completely routed them. The Turks sued for peace, and negotiations were opened at Bucharest between Gregory Orloff and the Grand Vizir. When the plenipotentiaries met to negotiate this important treaty, nothing could afford a stronger contrast than the magnificence of the Russian minister as opposed to the Ottoman simplicity. The former, Count Orloff, approached in four grand coaches, preceded by hussars, and attended by one hundred domestics suitably habited. The Turkish ministers were on horseback, with about sixty servants, as plainly

habited and accoutred as themselves. Count Orloff was all over in a blaze of jewels: on his breast he wore the Empress' portrait, together with the insignia of the different orders with which he had been invested, all of which, as well as his buckles, and several other parts of his dress, shone with diamonds.

On the other hand, Osman Effendi was clothed with a robe of green camlet, faced with ermine, and had nothing to distinguish him but a gold-headed cane. The terms required by the Russians were so very exorbitant,—viz., the payment of eighty millions of livres for the expenses of the war; the whole of the Krimea to be ceded to Russia; and several fortresses on the Black Sea to be yielded to them,—that the negotiations were broken off, and hostilities were renewed. Count Orloff complained that the Turks were so very slow in their negotiations, that he was unable to treat with them; and it is said that the Court of St. Petersburgh were by no means pleased with his conduct on this occasion—not that he was actually disgraced, but a marked displeasure was for a time manifested to him by his Imperial mistress; but he soon regained the royal favour, and negotiations were again opened.

The two belligerents were now both desirous of peace. The Turks had suffered so much, that their resources were quite exhausted, their fleets were almost annihilated, and the country was ripe for revolt: the Turkish power was, therefore, prostrate before that of Russia. Nor was Catherine disinclined to peace. The Russians had likewise suffered considerably, not so much from the war with Turkey, in which they were eminently successful, but the plague had laid waste whole districts, which had brought an accumulated weight of misery

on the people, and had materially diminished the population. The rebellion of Pougatcheff occurred about this time (as already related), and was a great calamity to Russia; the affairs of Poland likewise imperatively required the attention of the Empress; the negotiations for peace were, therefore, re-opened, and soon led to the conclusion of a treaty, which, it may be said, was imposed upon the Turks by Romanzoff, the Russian commissioner. It was signed on the 21st of July, 1774, in the Marshal's camp at Kanardji, near Bulgaria.

By this treaty, so favourable to Russia, she gained the right of free navigation of the Black Sea, together with the passage of the Dardanelles, a privilege granted only to the most favoured nations; she gained likewise a free passage up the Danube; all the vast countries between the Bug and the Dnieper were ceded to her, and several important fortresses, including those of Asoph and Taganrog; the independence of the Krimea was likewise stipulated for, which was most important to Russia; but, although it was nominally independent, yet it was virtually under the influence of the Empress Catherine, who soon assumed the protection of the sovereignty which she had created, and, by surrounding the Khan with her own creatures, exercised a real authority over the nation. Not content with the indirect control, Catherine was determined to possess the country. She fermented internal dissensions, and declared the sovereignty of the Krimea to be elective; the Tartars were called upon to elect a sovereign, and they elected Selim Gherai, at the dictation of Russia, who, fearing the resistance of the people, marched an army into the

country without opposition, for the purpose of driving the Ottomans out of the opposite island of Taman; they seized, by stratagem or force, all the strongholds, and forced the Imans and the people to take the oath of allegiance to the Empress. In addition to these advantages, the Turks made many concessions in favour of Moldavia and Wallachia, and her Imperial Majesty was acknowledged by the title of "Padishah," or Empress, which was never before granted to a Russian sovereign. By the result of this war, Russia gained a vast territory, and a million and a half of subjects; she extended her frontiers over the Caucasus, towards the borders of Georgia and Armenia, of which states the subjects became vassals of the Empress Catherine, under the name of protection: Mingrelia was one of these states, and the Prince of Georgia, Heraclius, formed an alliance with Russia, which subsequently led to his dominions being incorporated in the Russian Empire, since protection, according to Russian diplomacy, always leads to sovereignty.

By this peace, the Empress beheld her glory and influence extending, not only throughout Europe but likewise in the East; and there can be no doubt that the success of the war fed that ambition, which had been instilled into the mind of Catherine by the old marshal, Munich, for the conquest of Constantinople itself. Soon after the peace, the Court of St. Petersburgh was dazzled by the appearance of deputies from some of the provinces, which had submitted to the Russian arms, to do homage to the Empress, by whom they were received with courtly magnificence, and loaded with presents. Catherine was much flattered by their appearance, since it gave éclat to her government, and

shed a halo of splendour on all around, both novel and interesting to her subjects. This peace, so glorious to Russia, was celebrated at St. Petersburgh with every demonstration of joy; eight days were appointed for public feasts and rejoicings; even the criminals were allowed to partake of them; the prison-doors were thrown open, and, excepting those charged with high treason, they were liberated.

The news of such great and glorious successes, which led to so advantageous a peace, seemed to dazzle all Europe; who knew not which most to admire, the power or the magnificence of the great Sovereign of the North, who did not forget, in the midst of her conquests, to encourage the fine arts, learning, and the sciences. She purchased libraries, pictures, statues, and jewels, to the value of 100,000 roubles, to recompense the officers who had rendered such important services during the war; her Majesty bought also, for the Imperial treasury, a diamond, weighing 779 carats, for which she paid upwards of £100,000 sterling, and settled a pension for life upon the owner, of £1,000 a year. Such was the munificence of this great Sovereign, whose deeds of arms and of magnificence began to resound throughout Europe. The capital of her Imperial Majesty now became the rendezvous of people from different nations, enlivening it as much by their splendid costumes, as producing astonishment by their different features and languages. The prisoner Seraskier of Bender was to be seen, with his train of 180 persons, in all their Asiatic finery; there were the Tartars from Budziae and Jedissan, besides deputies from other tribes near China, whose country had been annexed to the Russian Empire; there were Georgians,

Greeks, Cossacs, Circassians, &c., all splendidly arrayed, and attended by numerous suites, gracing the capital with their presence, and swelling the triumphs of the great Empress, whose armies had brought them into subjection to her sway, and by whose munificence all their expenses were defrayed. These successes so elated Catherine, that she gave herself up to an extravagance of joy, and to new dreams of ambition and conquest; nor was the Empress alone so intoxicated, but her subjects partook of her sentiments at the glory of the Russian arms, and the humiliation of the Osmanlies. The whole nation was enthusiastic in their love and veneration for their great Sovereign, whose successes not only augmented her pride, but her security, since the disaffected dared not conspire against a Princess who was thus triumphing over her most formidable enemy. To celebrate these triumphs, medals were struck and columns erected, by order of the Empress, with that imperial munificence which so distinguished her.

A little episode now occurs in the reign of Catherine, which shows how jealously she watched the personal interests of her throne, and how sensitive she was to the least disturbance of her Imperial authority.

It has been stated that the Empress Elizabeth left three children by the Count Rozamouski. One of them, a daughter named Elizabeth, had been brought up by Prince Radzivil, who was the chief in Poland to resist the confederation of the Russians against his unhappy country; he made use of this young princess, as she was then called, in an attempt to avenge himself on the Empress Catherine, who, having intelligence of his designs, took immediate steps to prevent them. She

caused all his estates to be sequestrated, when the prince fled to Rome, taking his young charge with him to avoid the personal vengeance of the Empress. He thought that, by offering himself in marriage to Elizabeth, he might claim for her the throne of Russia, and himself share the sovereignty as the consort of his protégé. Radzivil was cut off from all supplies at Rome, and having exhausted the little fund derived from the sale of his jewels, he returned to Poland to seek new resources, and left the young Princess in charge of a female attendant only, when she was reduced to a state of the most abject poverty.

Catherine so vigilantly watched their movements, that steps were at once taken to capture the young Elizabeth, now without her protector. Alexis Orloff was charged with the commission of laying a snare for the inexperienced Tarakanoff. The Russian squadron was then cruising before Leghorn; he went from the fleet to Rome, and introduced himself to her in a military dress, as a Russian officer; he appeared to commiserate very much her destitute situation, saying that he had come to pay homage to her as a princess, whose fate was highly interesting to his countrymen; he added, that the Russians were discontented with Catherine, and disgusted with the tyranny of Orloff; that he hoped one day to see her mount the throne of her mother, the Empress Elizabeth, and that nothing should be wanting on his part towards this great end. He offered her that immediate pecuniary assistance which necessity obliged her to accept, and overcome by her gratitude, and the specious assurances of the tempter, he entirely gained her confidence; and the result of the conference was, that, on the pretence of giving her a fête, he won her consent to come on board

the Russian squadron, then commanded by Admiral Greig. Once on board, she was made prisoner, and handcuffed. Elizabeth implored pity from her betrayer, and threw herself on her knees to him for mercy; but she was carried down to the hold of the vessel, and soon conveyed to Russia, where she was confined in the fortress, and put under the guard of some merciless soldiers. It was never known what became of the poor victim, whose cries were often heard outside her prison walls; whether she died from the rigour of her confinement, or from the great flood which inundated St. Petersburgh in 1777, when the fortress was under water, continues to be a mystery.*

A further acquisition was made to the Russian Empire by the annexation of the kingdom of Georgia, which cost the Empress nothing more than a treaty with the then King Heraclius, which was signed at Georgivesk on the 4th of July (O.S.), 1783.

Whilst the Empress had been engaged in hostilities against the Turks, her two faithful allies, Austria and Prussia, not content with their portions of the usurped territory of Poland, began to make further encroachments upon it. This did not escape the vigilance of the Tzarina, who for a time seemed to connive at it; but the moment she could turn her whole attention to Poland, she sent such spirited remonstrances to both Austria and Prussia, that they immediately relinquished their usurpations, and kept within the limits fixed by the partition treaty; and in reply to her Majesty's remonstrance, the King of Prussia wrote a letter to her in the most flattering strains of encomium, and almost of subserviency, in which he added, "That as a proof of his readiness to oblige her imperial Majesty, he

* See Bell's "Russia."

shall make no difficulty in sacrificing his late acquisitions, provided the house of Austria will also restore what she had taken;" and in justice to Catherine it must be stated, that she not only restrained her allies from further aggressions on unhappy Poland, but that she kept within strict bounds of the partition treaty; furthermore, she sent to King Stanislaus two hundred and fifty thousand roubles, as compensation for that part of his domains which had fallen into her hands.

Peace was now established both at home and abroad, and the Tzarina had time to administer the internal affairs of her Empire; amongst other subjects, she gave great attention to the establishment of an efficient police, as without personal security no country could arrive at prosperity, which differs from public security; since the latter comes under the general administration of the law, whilst the former can only be secured by a vigilant police. An immense establishment was formed, divided into ten departments, and each department subdivided into quarters, with inspectors and lieutenants, all subject to a president or chief officer; stations were appointed them at the corners of the streets, and an immense force was embodied to preserve the peace of the capital and the provinces, very similar to that which now exists in Russia, with some improvements, and is generally considered to be the most efficient police in Europe.

Russia continued to move in that superior course of conduct which had excited the wonder of the world; great and splendid actions, adorned by a noble magnificence, and a munificence suited only to the resources of so vast an empire, threw a lustre all around, and dazzled the eyes of the beholders, which gave a permanency to the government of the Empress but little to be

expected from the way in which she obtained her sovereignty, or from the disposition of the people, whom the uncertain tenure of arbitrary power made ripe for changes. The history of the preceding Sovereigns of Russia having shown how suddenly they were effected; but individuals now began to feel themselves partakers in the exalted state of the whole, which gave a stability to Catherine's government far beyond that of any of her predecessors. Great attention was paid by the Empress to the increase and improvement of the Russian naval force, to support her claim to maritime power; and her imperial Majesty renewed that vast project which had engaged the attention of all her predecessors from Peter the Great—a project which was said to have been not only in contemplation, but in some degree undertaken—that of uniting the inland and remote Caspian Sea with the far distant frozen and boundless Northern Ocean. This vast scheme it was proposed to carry out by means of canals with the junction of several navigable rivers, which, had it succeeded, would have exhibited the greatest monument of human industry, and the most extraordinary inland navigation, ever known.

No pains were spared at this period to induce foreigners to people those vast deserts that constitute a great part of the Russian empire, and which, in many places, required only cultivation to produce in the greatest plenty every thing necessary for the subsistence and comfort of mankind. Twelve new colonies, comprehending above 6,000 families, were established on the banks of the Volga: endeavours were likewise used to form a cultivated tract along the whole course of the road for the caravans pursuing their way from Russia to

China, thereby to facilitate the commerce of the two countries. Towns and villages were built at certain distances for the purpose, and many Polish families were established in the country immediately adjoining to the confines of China. As the emigrants were furnished with all the necessaries for colonization, including stock, they began to taste the sweets of security in person. The new settlements flourished exceedingly, until the rapacity of the governors, encouraged by the supposed immunity which the distance from the seat of empire afforded them, changed the pleasing prospect, and had nearly accomplished the ruin of the colonies. The vigilance of the government, however, saved them from destruction; a rigorous inquiry was instituted into the oppressions of the governors, and the severest punishments followed, which were well deserved on these occasions. Even commercial affairs were not deemed beneath the attention of her imperial Majesty, who, in order to take advantage of the cessions made to her by the late treaty of peace between Russia and the Sublime Porte, established a commercial house at Constantinople, under the immediate protection of the Empress, with a capital sufficient to carry on the trade between the two countries on an extensive scale.

Prince Henry of Prussia now paid a second visit to St. Petersburgh, where he was received with similar honours as on the first occasion. The affairs of Poland formed the principal subject of discussion in the royal coterie, when the Empress complained of the obstacles which she had encountered in carrying out her designs on that kingdom; and the plans were matured for the final partition of the unhappy country. It was then doomed to be blotted out from the map of nations.

The British court was at this time represented by Sir James Harris, afterwards Lord Malmesbury, who, for his services, was honoured by his sovereign with the Order of the Bath, and the Empress Catherine deigned herself to decorate him with the ribbon which was sent for the investiture, in token of his merits and of her royal favour. The ambassador, when writing from St. Petersburgh, alludes to the pomp and parade of the Russian court when he says, "The magnificence and splendour of the Russian court exceed every thing in my idea; to this is joined the most perfect order and decorum. The Empress herself unites in the most wonderful manner the talent of putting those she honours with her conversation at their ease, and of keeping up her own dignity. Her character extends throughout her whole administration, and, although she is really obeyed, yet she has introduced a lenity in the mode of government, to which till her reign the country was a stranger."

Subsequently, on the 16th January, 1778, he writes—"Great luxury and little morality seem to run through every rank; flattery and servility characterize the lower classes, presumption and pride the higher ones. A slight, though brilliant varnish cover in both the most uninformed and illiterate minds. Their entertainments, their apartments, and the number of their domestics, are quite Asiatic; and what is very odd, though perhaps very natural, although they imitate the foreigners in every thing, (I speak of the higher classes,) having neither customs nor character of their own, yet, generally speaking, a stranger is ill received when he comes amongst them. The system of the court goes on in all its old train—immense prodigality, and a habit of indolence and procrastination, reigns from the first to the last."

On the birth of the Grand Duke's son in the March following, the ambassador wrote thus—"Besides the sumptuous fêtes of the principal nobility upon the joyful occasion, (the last of which, at Prince Potemkin's, cost 50,000 roubles,) the Empress was pleased to give one in the course of the Carnival, the magnificence and good taste of which surpassed every thing that can be imagined. The dessert at supper was set out with jewels to the amount of upwards of two millions sterling, and at the tables of macao, (a game much in vogue here at present,) besides the stake in money played for, a diamond of fifty roubles' value was given by her Imperial Majesty to each of those who got nine, the highest point of the game. One hundred and fifty diamonds were distributed in this manner. None but Russians of the highest rank were honoured with an invitation to the party; but, for some days after, foreigners and others were admitted to a sight of the beautiful decorations of jewels, which were equally extraordinary for the elegance of the design, as for the costliness of the material. The interior of the court is one continued scene of intrigue, debauchery, iniquity, and corruption. The Grand Duke and Duchess must be excepted; they live in harmony together, and interfere in nothing."

The affairs of Poland again required the Tzarina's attention, and she professed to take the republic under her special protection, by marching her troops over the frontier, with the view to assist internal peace, and to prevent foreign aggression. The Russians had no difficulty in making an easy prey of a divided country, and a second partition now took place, in which Austria had no share, when the republic was reduced to 4,000 square miles, and its army to 15,000 men, by order of the

Tzarina. It has been stated that Prince Henry of Prussia had paid a second visit to the Empress previously to this time, when she complained to him of the difficulties which she had found with her ally, whom she had placed on the throne of Poland, likewise with the commissioners whom she had sent to regulate the affairs of that country—that they could neither agree amongst themselves, nor with the Poles, to which the Prince replied, "Madam, I see but one way of obviating the difficulty; the remainder of Poland must be partitioned."*

This idea pleased the haughty Empress, and the final partition of the country was decided upon; soon after which the second division took place.

The Poles, who were never deficient in bravery, felt their national disgrace in submitting to these aggressions, which, if they did not resist, would soon lead to the remainder of their country being incorporated with the neighbouring states, so they all flew to arms. A general insurrection was organized against the allied powers, and for a time they did wonders against their formidable enemies, whom they expelled even from some of the fortresses. The king had acceded to this second treaty, which struck the nation with terror, and inspired the bold with greater ardour; he ordered the armies to retreat, and to leave the country open to the domination of the Russians, and his example constrained many who had property to lose, to prefer their arbitrary rule to the giving up their possessions.

In the mean time, the Poles had awoke to the necessity of reforming their national institutions; the wisest of their sovereigns, Sobieski and John Casimir, had vainly predicted the coming calamity, and urged their country-

* Tooke.

men to lay aside their dissensions, and to abandon their arbitrary and wild usages for a more just and rational form of government. In 1791, a new constitution was enthusiastically adopted; the partial emancipation of the serfs, with a view to their elevation to all the rights of freemen, was decreed; the throne was declared hereditary in the Saxon royal branch, after the death of King Stanislaus; moreover, the cities and towns acquired representatives, and thus at last this important element of European civilization was called into activity in Poland. It was the establishment of this constitution that was made the pretext for a fresh spoliation of the country. The King of Prussia had encouraged them to proceed with their reforms; and in the spirit of treachery had offered the alliance of Prussia as a safeguard against any attack from Russia. A treaty was concluded in 1791, when King Frederick William bound himself to protect Poland from foreign interference at any time, or in any manner. But the vacillation and the cowardice of Stanislaus paralyzed all the efforts of the national troops; after his submission, the Polish army was partially disbanded, and partly scattered in small detachments throughout the country. The officers who had signalized themselves in resistance to the Russian arms were dismissed, and Russian garrisons were posted at Warsaw, and the other principal towns.

Early in 1793, King Frederick William marched his troops into Great Poland, and took possession of the important cities of Thorn and Dantzic; he tried to justify these acts of aggression by a manifesto, in which he declared that the Poles had behaved very ungratefully to his ally, the Empress of Russia, and that they had the contumacy to make an obstinate resistance against the

Russian troops; he complained that the Poles had imbibed the detestable principles of French democracy, and that this was especially the case in the province of Great Poland, which adjoined his own dominions, so that he was compelled to have recourse to strong measures.

The Poles in vain appealed to the treaties made after the former partition in 1773, when Russia, Austria, and Prussia, solemnly guaranteed the independence and integrity of Poland, as those treaties left her. A diet was assembled at Grodno, and the feeble Stanislaus was obliged to attend it, and to sanction their proceedings, which were accelerated by their being surrounded with Russian bayonets, to awe those members who might dare to resist. The insurrection was already organized, and the people flocked to the standards of the patriots; but what could they do against the veteran Russian troops, accustomed to conquest, and flushed with victory, of whom there poured into Poland more than a hundred thousand men, divided into three armies, commanded by able generals? The Poles collected an army in haste, and obliged the King to take the command of it; but Stanislaus was quite unequal to such a charge. They published a manifesto, declaring that the Russian Sovereign meant to incorporate with her dominions all the territory which yet remained to the republic. The tyranny of the Russians made the wretched inhabitants feel the weight of their barbarity. A chivalrous and ancient nation like the Poles, justly proud of their military renown, and enthusiastically devoted to liberty, could not be expected to endure such a yoke without a struggle. It was felt by the Polish generals that the King had tied their hands in the late war, and that the chances of battle had not been fairly tried.

A hero now sprang up to take the command of the Polish armies—Kosciusko—who was resolved to effect a national rising against the oppressors of his country. Thaddeus Kosciusko was born in 1754, of a noble, but not wealthy, family in Lithouania; he was trained, like most of his countrymen, for a soldier's life, and studied his profession first in a military school at Warsaw; he had visited Paris for a short time, and, on his return to Poland, solicited King Stanislaus for an appointment in the army, which was refused him: he then returned to Paris, and joined Lafayette, whose acquaintance he had made; they crossed the Atlantic to join the insurgents in the American colonies, and he attained the rank of general in their army. On his return to his own country, he lived in retirement until the time arrived for serving her with his counsel and his sword. Kosciusko, who had zealously co-operated with the chief men for the great constitutional regeneration of his country, now received the command of one of the three divisions of the Polish army. His career in America had inspired his countrymen with the highest confidence in his valour and conduct, which was fully justified by his subsequent career; he made his way to the highest rank by that energy and courage which enabled him to perform prodigies of valour, and which gained him the confidence of the nation, the hatred of the Russians, and the applause of all Europe. He proclaimed himself the determined enemy of the invaders, and, at the head of forty thousand men, he declared eternal war against them.

In the first campaign, he distinguished himself greatly both by spirit and judgment; he fought most gallantly at Dubienka, on the 18th of July, where, at the head of five thousand Poles, he made a most gallant resistance for

many hours against seventeen thousand Russians, and, when at last compelled to retire, he made an orderly and steady retreat. In this engagement he displayed that coolness and valour, which marked him out to the Poles as their future military chief. He was, therefore, proclaimed Generalissimo of the Polish forces, and, by a wise and generous act of confidence of his countrymen, they made their citizen a dictator in this emergency of the state. An oath of allegiance to him was taken both by the soldiery and the civilians; his authority was absolute; he had the regulation of all affairs, civil as well as military. The national council, which he was commissioned to form, was chosen by himself, and its members were subject to dismissal at his will; he had power given him to nominate his successor, who was to be subject to the control of the national council. The first act of Kosciusko was to summon a diet of the nobles and representatives of the cities, to provide funds for the immediate purposes of the war, and to call out and arrange, as far as possible, the military forces of the country.

He marched from Cracow at the head of four thousand imperfectly armed troops, and encountered a superior Russian force at Ruclavice, and, after an obstinate fight of five hours, gained a complete victory, in which, besides the heavy loss which the enemy sustained in killed and wounded, they left eleven cannons in the hands of the victors, and a large quantity of arms and military stores, which were of immense value in equipping the volunteers that thronged around him. This victory over the Russians, who had been deemed invincible, much animated his followers; the news of it spread far and wide through Poland, and caused a great part of the population to rise in favour of the pa-

triotic cause; great numbers of the Russians scattered through the country were massacred at one time, and many of the Polish partisans of the Russians perished on the gibbet.

The Russian general, Denisoff, whom Kosciusko had defeated, was strongly reinforced, which prevented our hero's approach to the capital; a considerable garrison of Russian troops was posted at Warsaw, but the citizens rose against them, and after two days' hard fighting nearly the whole of the force was destroyed, and the capital was in the possession of the Polish troops and of armed citizens, who all readily acknowledged the authority of Kosciusko. While still professing allegiance to King Stanislaus, and declaring their intentions of preserving their monarchy, the Poles placed themselves under the guidance of their great dictator so long as the struggle with the enemy should continue.

The Prussians now came up to assist the Russians; an army of forty thousand of them marched upon Cracow, to join themselves with Denisoff's troops. Kosciusko attacked them on the 8th June, but the disparity of numbers was too great, and after some gallant fighting, he was obliged to retreat upon Kielee, leaving the road to Cracow open to the enemy; the city was soon obliged to surrender to a Prussian division, and about the same time a Polish corps was defeated by a Russian force under Defelden. But these reverses did not daunt the intrepid Kosciusko, who issued proclamations and orders to all the Polish generals on the frontiers, bidding them carry the war into the Russian and Prussian territories, and offer liberty to the enslaved and oppressed populations. But the Polish cause suffered much at Warsaw,

by the disgraceful proceedings of the mob; they broke out into the most furious violence when the reverses of the national armies were known; they attacked the prisons, threatening instant death to all traitors; the magistrates checked the riots, but not before eight of the prisoners had been seized and slaughtered.

Kosciusko showed the deepest grief and indignation when informed of these excesses. He did more than lament them; he caused a strict investigation to be made respecting the originators of these crimes, and seven of the ringleaders were executed by his orders; his character was duly appreciated by his countrymen, as simple in his habits, unaffected in his manners, amiable and mild to his comrades and associates, chivalrously bold in danger, and sternly resolute when duty required; he was the idol of the soldiers, and won the admiration and esteem even of his foes. At the end of June, an Austrian army entered Little Poland, which required a Polish corps of observation to watch its movements, since they did not immediately proceed to hostilities. The combined Russian and Prussian armies now advanced from Cracow upon Warsaw. Kosciusko was then too weak to fight a pitched battle with them, and he retreated before them to a strongly-fortified camp, which he had directed to be prepared a few miles from the city; he had also caused the fortifications of Warsaw to be strengthened, and the invaders were repulsed in seven assaults upon the city, while, from the judicious position which he had taken, he made it impossible for them to carry on a regular siege.

The allies retreated from Warsaw on the 5th September, being in want of provisions, and having suffered much in their actions with the enemy. The Prussian Polish provinces now rose in arms, and nearly the whole

of Great Poland was in possession of the patriots, and there seemed every probability that they would regain their national independence; but the power of Russia was too formidable for the Poles, and the Tzarina determined to crush the insurrection by ordering up her great general, Suwarrow, with his victorious veterans, from the frontiers of Turkey, through the south-eastern provinces of Poland, upon Warsaw. The news of Suwarrow's approach obliged Kosciusko to prepare an army to oppose this formidable antagonist. General Sierkooski, one of the best Polish officers, was accordingly sent with fifteen thousand men to check the advance of Suwarrow. The King of Prussia had assumed the chief command of the allied armies, and at this time ten thousand of the Polish troops were occupied in watching the Austrians; Kosciusko himself, following the retreating enemy, had established his head-quarters on the left bank of the Vistula. His forces were therefore so much divided that they could not prevent Suwarrow passing the Bug river. Poland had no national bulwarks; the frontier fortresses were supplied with very slender means of defence; thus Suwarrow came on, and took the Polish general Sierkooski by surprise, who was by no means a match for him; and a series of engagements took place between the two armies, in which the Poles were successively defeated.

Suwarrow approached rapidly: nothing could resist the power of the conqueror of Ismail, and, such was the celerity of his movements, that only a small portion of his troops could keep up with him. Kosciusko felt the necessity of fighting his enemies before they could effect a junction; hence he hastened with about eleven thousand men to Macejowitz, to attack the Russian general,

Fersen, whose troops were near that town; but Fersen did not wait to be attacked. This decisive battle was fought on the 6th October, when the Russians advanced twice to the charge, but were repulsed by the Poles with great loss, although Kosciusko was almost entirely destitute of artillery, and his soldiers were but half disciplined and half equipped volunteers. The battle, which began at seven in the morning, did not end till noon; Kosciusko flew from rank to rank continually in the hottest part of the engagement, in the course of which he had three horses killed under him; another attack of the Russians threw his troops into great confusion, and the conflict was now desperate. Collecting his principal officers around him, he made a last endeavour to redeem the day; he headed in person a charge against the Russian centre, but his little band was overwhelmed by numbers, and cut down almost to a man. At length Kosciusko himself fell, and a Cossac, who did not know him in the peasant's dress which he always wore, wounded him behind with a lance; he recovered, and advanced a few steps, when he was again knocked down by the Cossac, but was rescued by Philipinko, a Russian officer, who recognised him, and made him prisoner. The unfortunate Kosciusko implored the officer that he would allow the Cossac to take his life, and thus put an end to his misery; but he chose to capture him to grace the Russian triumph, when he was sent with other men of rank to St. Petersburgh, and confined in a dungeon.

Suwarrow immediately commenced the storming of Praga, a suburb of Warsaw. The intrenchments were stronger than those of the capital, and sufficiently extensive to serve as a field of battle. The garrison consisted

of 30,000 men. The Russian army began to march from the camp of Kobalka in three bodies against Praga, two miles from the place from which they set out; towards midnight, batteries were speedily erected in front of the three corps, on which 2500 men were set to work, and by four in the morning the batteries were completed; there was one of twenty-eight pieces of cannon on the right wing, one of sixteen in the centre, and another of forty-eight on the left wing.

A musket, the signal of attack, was fired at four in the morning; immediately they were all in motion, although it was very dark. Suwarrow went in person, and posted himself on a height, where he might observe every thing that passed, about a verst from the outermost of the enemy's works. Nothing could repel the Russian troops; they rapidly leaped the ditch and the parapet, and fell upon the cavalry and infantry that were behind them. The infantry drove the enemy to the banks of the Vistula, penetrated into the suburb itself, pursued them from street to street, killed 2500 upon the spot, and made 2000 prisoners, among whom were several officers, two generals, and about 1000 men, who attempted to save themselves by swimming down in the Vistula.

The Russians now penetrated into the farthest of the fortifications of Praga itself, and began to make a dreadful carnage in the streets and public squares, which were deluged with blood. The most frightful of these scenes was the massacre of some thousand men, arrested in their flight on the banks of the Vistula. The Russians took 3400 prisoners, and the remainder were killed with the sword or bayonet, or driven into the river before the eyes of the inhabitants of Warsaw, who, from the opposite bank, vainly stretched out their hands to assist them.

But another equally lamentable spectacle presented itself to the inhabitants of that capital, in the burning of several houses of Praga, the destruction of which seemed to menace the whole suburb with a similar fate. At once they heard balls hissing on every side, bombs bursting, and the cries of the dying. The mournful sound of the tocsin increased the noise of the artillery, and the consternation was universal amidst all classes of the inhabitants. A bomb fell into the hall of the Council of the Patriots, where the members were assembled, and in bursting killed the secretary, who was reading to them a paper. Of the Polish army, consisting of 26,000 men, 13,000 lay upon the field of battle, one-third of whom were the flower of the youth of Warsaw; above 2000 were drowned in the Vistula. The number of prisoners amounted to 13,680; of these 8000 were immediately set at liberty, and the others had the same favour shewn them the next day. The Russians lost 1580 men, and they had 900 wounded, twenty-three of whom were superior and staff officers; and on the 9th October, 1794, Warsaw capitulated to the victors.

Suwarrow took up his station under the Cavalier, outside the intrenchments, near the Park; here he assembled several of his general and superior officers, when they congratulated each other on the victory. He ordered some refreshments to be served to the Polish officers, his prisoners, who were allowed to retain their sabres, and were treated amicably. In the night there was a great tumult at Warsaw. The troops, under the command of Wavreschewski, attempted to carry away the King and all the Russian prisoners, when the ill-disposed committed many excesses.

In the afternoon Lieut.-colonel Hoffman came to the

General's quarters with some verbal commissions, and a letter from the King, requesting Suwarrow to postpone his entry into Warsaw for a week, that delay being absolutely necessary for the evacuation of the place; but this delay was not granted by the Commander-in-chief, and the next morning Suwarrow made his triumphal entry into the capital, attended by his generals and the troops, whom he had so often led to victory. At seven in the morning they defiled by the bridge in the city, with drums beating and colours flying; at nine, Suwarrow passed the bridge on horseback, surrounded by his adjutants and staff. He wore the uniform of a cavalry officer, without any decoration, and was received, on the other side of the bridge, by the magistrates of Warsaw in a body, and in their ceremonial habits, which were black.

The president presented to him, on a velvet cushion, the keys of the city, with the usual accompaniments of bread and salt, and delivered a brief harangue. The general took the keys, presented them to his lips, and then cordially embraced the magistrate. He gave the cushion and keys to General Islimieff, who preceded him on horseback, and the procession entered amidst the gloomy silence of the inhabitants, who kept themselves shut up in their houses. When Suwarrow came to the Cathedral he ordered his suite to halt, and then repeated a prayer. At the extremity of the city he alighted at a public hotel, where he dined, and afterwards took a house in that part of the town which was nearest the camp; here he fixed his head-quarters. He ordered Lieut.-general Potemkin, on his entrance into the city, to go and pay his respects to the King at the castle, and to attend to the safety of his person. Major-general

Buthawden was appointed governor of Warsaw. A few days after, Suwarrow went with much pomp to the castle to pay his respects to his Majesty, when, contrary to his usual custom, his uniform was decorated with all his orders; two squadrons of hussars preceded him, and his carriage was surrounded by officers of all ranks. On his arrival at the castle, he was received with great ceremony. The King embraced him and conducted him to his cabinet, where they remained together upwards of an hour; during this conference an arrangement was entered into, that the Polish troops, whom he always termed revolters, should lay down their arms, and deliver up their artillery to the Russians.

The 1st of November was set apart as a day of solemn thanksgiving, when Suwarrow ordered "Te Deum" to be sung to the God of Armies, whose altars had been stained by the blood of the innocent and helpless, and whose praises were now chanted by the voices of murderers, amidst the shrieks and groans of the victims. A very powerful military force was garrisoned at Warsaw and the suburbs, and cannons were pointed at the city in every direction to keep it in subjection. Reder Stanislaus, the king, was sent to Grodno, where, by a treaty signed by him on the 25th November, he resigned the Crown of Poland to the three Allied Powers, who guaranteed to him an annual pension of 200,000 ducats; and, in the month of May following, a treaty of the final partition of Poland between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, was signed at St. Petersburgh, by which the latter Power acquired the cities of Thorn and Dantzic.

Prince Repnin was subsequently appointed governor of Warsaw, where he displayed the pomp of a sovereign.

That the merciless deeds of the Russian general, Suwarrow, were approved of by Catherine, seems quite certain; since the Empress immediately conferred upon him the rank of field-marshal, and presented him with an estate of 7000 peasants, in the district of Kobin, the scene of the first battle which he gained in the course of this campaign. Poland was now no more—she was wiped out from among the nations of Europe; a republic, that had lasted nearly two centuries, yielded to the most wanton and bloody usurpation perhaps to be found in the records of history. A century had not elapsed since the rescue of Austria from the Turks by the Poles, under King Sobieski; little more than a century and a half had passed from the time when the armies of King Sigismund conquered Russia, dethroned her Tzar, and gave away the Russian crown in captured Moscow; the Russian dukes had been long the vassals of the Polish kings. Yet these were the three powers that blotted Poland out of the map of Europe—the dire result of an elective monarchy, which can offer no stability as compared to an hereditary right to the throne. There was not one of these powers that had not formerly been her humble and submissive inferior; and it was in Poland that Christendom found for ages her best and bravest barrier against the tide of Mahomedan invasion. But whilst other states had been consolidating their strength, Poland had been gradually sinking into weakness, and becoming the prey of dissension and anarchy; the mass of her population were serfs, and her nobility, though numerous and brave, were turbulent and lawless, regarding with equal jealousy the masses below them, and the king whom they elected to be over them.

The remainder of Poland, now divided between the

three Allied Powers, excited the most profound sensation throughout Europe, although it does not appear to have brought forward help from any of the European sovereigns on behalf of the unhappy Poles, whose struggles for liberty were worthy of a brave and generous people.

## CHAPTER V.

Foreign Policy of the Tzarina—Irritating her old Enemy the Porte—Her Sovereignty over the Krimea—Prosperous State of the Russian Empire—Some Pretenders to Catherine's Throne—Emigration of the Kalmuck Tartars—Journey of the Empress into the Krimea—Arrival of the Emperor of Germany at Kherson—Selim Ghirai cedes the Territory of the Krimea to the Empress—His tragical Fate—The Emperor Joseph II. visits St. Petersburgh—Prince Potemkin—His History and Character—Extraordinary Life, and sudden Death—The Taurida Palace ordered to be built by the Empress in honour of Potemkin—Grand Fete given by him to the Empress—Catherine's ambitious Designs against Turkey—Treaty entered into with the Emperor Joseph for the destruction of the Ottoman Empire—Hostilities declared by the Turks—War declared against Turkey by the Empress—Opening of the Campaign—Suwarrow, the great Russian general—The Siege of Otzakoff—Liberality of the Empress to the Russian Commanders—Inauguration of the statue of Peter the Great—Catherine's political Power in Europe—Some description of her Court—Sweden and Russia—Jealousy of the two Courts—Government of the young King—His Visit to St. Petersburgh—Their Majesties' interview at Fredericksham—Sweden declares War against Russia—Naval Action between the Swedes and Russians—Captain James Trevanion—Peace with Sweden—Continued hostilities with the Porte—The affairs of Greece—A deputation of Greeks to the Empress—Affairs of Sweden—The King shot by Ankerstrom—The Turkish War—The fortress of Ismailow stormed by the Russian Troops—The Russians entering the Town—Massacre of the Seraskier and his Janizaries—Ferocity of the Victors—Suwarrow's Despatch to Potemkin—His Letter to the Empress—His merciless Warfare—Conflict between the Russians and Turks at Anapa—The Turks dispirited sue for Peace—Treaty of Yassy—Catherine's literary acquirements.

THE active mind of the Tzarina was still intent on foreign conquests. She looked forward to conduct

Constantine, her grandson, to the capital of the Oriental empire which she had destined for him. The young prince was brought up by Greek nurses; he soon learned their language; he was dressed in the fashion of the Greeks, and a Greek cadet corps was established for him.

The daring foreign policy of Catherine was now shown far beyond the boundaries of Poland; and Europe was astonished to see a nation, which, until the time of Peter the Great, had scarcely a place on the map, sending out her ships into all harbours, and menacing their coasts—the flag of Muscovy for the first time was now floating on the Mediterranean, and her fleets were landing Russian troops on the continent of Greece, to excite the people against the sovereignty of the Turks. They laid siege to Corinth, and captured Lemnos and Mitylene—thus was the Empress laying the foundation of that policy, which has been since so steadily pursued by all successive Russian cabinets, that of winning the Greeks over to their interests (as members of the same orthodox faith), and detaching them from Turkish allegiance. For the first time, too, did it occur in the history of Russia, that during this reign loans were negotiated on the exchanges of Europe. Lucca, Genoa, and Amsterdam, supplied large sums to the government for the future sinews of war.

The Empress being now freed from other engagements of a warlike nature, began again to irritate her old enemy the Porte. The treaty of Kanardji had been continually broken in upon by the Tzarina, and its engagements evaded. Amongst other things, her Majesty caused towns to be built and colonies to be established in the Krimea, although its independence had been guaranteed by the late treaty. The foundation was laid

of the town of Kherson, which gave great umbrage to the Porte, since it shewed the encroaching designs of Russia. She obliged the Khan to make the most outrageous demands upon them; in reply to which, they beheaded his envoy.

Russia forced the Mahomedan authorities in the Khan's presence to take the oath of allegiance to the Empress; and, in return for their obedience, she seized their revenues. The Tzarina had declared that the Caucasus must in future be the boundaries of her empire; and she seized all the intermediate territory to the east of that mountainous barrier. Such aggressions could not but alarm even the stolid indifference of the Divan at Constantinople. In reply to their remonstrances, Catherine sent them an insulting message, that they should not interfere with her acquisitions in the Krimea. She went farther than this to overcome them, by building a fleet in the harbour of Kherson; with which she might, at any time; menace Constantinople. Catherine forced the Khan of the Krimea to resign his dominions over to Russia, for which he received, nominally, large estates in the country; and a manifesto was issued, declaring Kuban, Taman, and the Krimea for ever incorporated into the Russian empire. Large armies were then assembled in the Krimea and at Kief, whilst a formidable fleet in the Baltic, and another in the Euxine, were prepared for action. Such immense preparations alarmed the Porte; but, by the mediation of France and Austria, they were inclined to enter into another treaty, which was signed at Constantinople in 1780, whereby the Porte acknowledged the sovereignty of the Empress over the Krimea, Taman, and a great part of the Kuban.

At this time, the empire of Catherine was rendered

more compact, better regulated, more completely organized, and animated with a better spirit than at any former period. The commerce and finances were established on a firm footing. Such a prosperous state of her Majesty's dominions had great influence on the other nations of Europe. In Catherine was blended what has seldom been seen together in character—superiority of mind, refinement of policy, with fixedness of purpose. To whomsoever incurred her wrath, she was inexorable: to whomsoever served her, she was royally bountiful. She had the most perfect command over herself; and, however her passions were excited, she yet remained tranquil, and issued her commands with honied words and flattering courtesies. There was a fascination in her manners, and a majesty in her deportment, which gave a sort of spell to her presence.

The Empress found time, amidst her numerous affairs of state, not only to ameliorate the condition of her subjects, but to promote their civilisation, by the cultivation of the sciences and the fine arts. Accompanied by the Grand Duke, she attended an assembly held by the academy of polite arts, and endowed the royal academy of sciences, established at St. Petersburgh, with an annual pension of sixty thousand roubles, two thousand of which were to be paid to Count Betaskor, as president of the academy. Her Majesty made a present likewise of a considerable sum to a society entirely instituted for the advancement of agriculture. She also sent out scientific men to explore the different provinces of the empire, such as Pallas, Gmelin, Gulderstein, &c. Her active mind was continually at work for the benefit of her empire, extending even to an orphan house, which she founded at Moscow. She likewise assigned an

annual sum of 5000 roubles for the translation of foreign learned works into the Russian language. Her Majesty dedicated, for ten years to come, the annual sum of 200,000 roubles to embellish the several cities of the empire, particularly St. Petersburgh and Moscow; and especially for beautifying and improving the imperial palaces in the Kremlin.

It could scarcely be expected that against so powerful a sovereign pretenders should rise up to dispute the imperial authority; but there were many such, supposed to have been instigated by the priests, who were always inimical to Catherine's usurpation. A shoemaker of Varonetch appeared in 1770, and claimed to be the real Peter III., but he was soon taken and punished with death; another, named Chernicheff, appeared in the village of Kopenka, who also gave out that he was the emperor. A Russian colonel marched against him, and caused his head to be struck off. Tschoglokoff, a young officer, persuaded that he was inspired to revenge the death of Peter III., repaired for three successive days to the dark passages leading to the inner apartments of the palace, intending to dispatch the Empress as she passed, but happily she did not go out as usual.

Tschoglokoff, imprudently trusting his design to another officer who betrayed him, was seized whilst waiting her Majesty's arrival, armed with a long poignard, of which he freely confessed the intended use. Catherine pretended at first to forgive the guilty man, in order to conceal the attempt from the public, but soon had him banished to Siberia.

But the most curious event of the disaffection of Catherine's subjects was shown by the entire migration of the Kalmuck Tartars, who left Russia in the autumn

of 1770, and reached the Chinese borders in the summer of 1771, where they were protected. They consisted of 70,000 heads of families, or about 350,000 souls. Application was made by the Empress to the Chinese government for their restoration, which was treated with contempt. These are the only instances of attempted disturbances in the Russian empire, which prove that its tranquillity was established on a firm basis.

The Empress now projected a journey into the Krimea, and it was publicly announced that her Majesty intended making a magnificent progress, in order to be crowned "Queen of Taurida," and to be declared protectress of all the nations of Tartars; she was to be accompanied by an immense train, including the clergy, her court, and numerous attendants. It was expected, by this display of magnificence, not only to command the respect of her new subjects of the Krimea, but to awe surrounding nations into submission.

The magnificence of the procession was to exceed every thing that had yet been witnessed in her Majesty's dominions. A fleet of galleys was built on the Dnieper, and preparations were made regardless of cost; but as soon as the news of her Majesty's intended progress was spread amongst the Tartars, Lesghis, and other tribes whom it was intended to awe into submission, it had quite a contrary effect, and tended to cement their union to the most determined resistance to the Tzarina. Some skirmishes had already taken place between the Russians and the Tartars, which occasioned an alteration in the intended journey; in addition to which the young Prince Constantine fell ill of the measles, so that he could not possibly accompany the expedition. The great object of the coronation and assuming the new

titles was given up, and the number intended to accompany the Empress was much limited.

Catherine set out on her journey on the 18th January, 1787, accompanied by a numerous suite, including the ambassadors of Austria and France, and the English envoy. Prince Potemkin had gone on before, and he joined her Majesty at Kief; the sledges travelled night and day, and fires were lighted at every station on the road to attract people, and to mark the Empress's route. Fifty magnificent galleys were disposed on the Dnieper to receive her Majesty, in one of which she embarked, and the remainder were filled with her followers—the rocks that impeded the navigation of the river had been previously broken. The King of Poland came to meet her Majesty under his old name of Poniatowski, and immediately went on board the Empress's galley; the two Sovereigns had not met for twenty-three years before. What might have been the reminiscences of these two august personages forms no province of the historian to speculate upon. The Empress immediately decorated him with the Order of St. Andrew. Prince Potemkin had made all the arrangements for her Majesty's different receptions and accommodations.

The Emperor of Germany (Count Falkenstein) had arrived at Kherson previously to her Majesty, and he set out to meet her at Kaidak, where magnificent fêtes were given, and over one of the gates was inscribed in Greek characters, to greet her Majesty, "By this, the way leads to Byzantium." Catherine was lodged in the palace of the former Sovereign Khan, Selim Ghirai, who had ceded to the Tzarina his dominions by a treaty, January 9, 1784; a vast territory, containing 1,500,000 souls Catherine restored the ancient names

to the Krimea and the Kuban—the former being called Taurida, and the latter Caucasus. Of the cession of the Krimea to the Empress, by which this kingdom was for ever incorporated into the Russian empire, we have the following particulars:—On the 28th June, the anniversary of the accession of the Empress, the Nogai Tartars assembled, to the number of five or six thousand, at the invitation of their khan, Selim Gherai, to a feast. The whole of the country round was covered with their tents. The khan then informed them that he had abdicated his dignity, notifying that he had come to that resolution of his own accord, and that they were at liberty to choose their successor; but he was determined to live and die amongst them. Prince Potemkin had published a manifesto from the Empress, with a supplement in his own name, ordering all the Tartars to take the oath of allegiance to the Empress. On this occasion the troops were distributed in proper order, and in several divisions, when divine service was performed, which, when concluded, the Nogai chiefs, in the presence of Suwarrow, the Russian general, swore on the Koran fidelity and homage to the Empress; they afterwards went to their tribes, and made them take the same oath. The whole of the ceremony was performed with the greatest solemnity, amidst the continual discharge of artillery and songs of joy. Several of the Tartars received appointments in the Russian service, others were made staff-officers, and some of them subalterns. When the whole was concluded, a grand feast was given in the manner of the Tartars, who were distributed in a number of small groups, all placed according to their rank. The dinner consisted principally of boiled and roast meat. A hundred oxen and

eight hundred sheep were killed on the occasion; and, as the laws of the Tartars did not permit them to drink wine, but only sago brandy, thirty-two thousand pints of this liquor were provided for the company, who were allowed to drink at pleasure, besides which, English porter was served to the chiefs who dined at Suwarrow's table. The party drank healths in a cup, which was handed round the table with continued cries of joy, and of "Urrah and Allah." The other chiefs did the same, and mirth and happiness prevailed throughout the scene. Russians and Tartars were mingled together; and, after dinner, races were performed on all sides by the Tartars and the Cossacs. Some of the Tartars died in consequence of drinking to excess, which they considered as an honour in their great feasts. In the evening a second feast was served, which continued a great part of the night. A similar entertainment was given the following day, the 29th of June, which was that of St. Peter and St. Paul, when a breakfast was given, after which the Tartars took their leave, embracing the Russians as brethren.

Selim Gherai became at length so dependant on Russia, as to receive from that government a pension, and he was content to wear the uniform of the Probijinski guards. His fate was tragical. Wearied out and disgusted with his residence in Russia, he despised himself, although the Empress made a show occasionally of treating him with respect, and at one time sent him the decoration of an order of knighthood. He could not, he said, being a Mahomedan, wear the Cross; it was then converted into a Crescent. He declined wearing what was no longer an order, but a trinket tied to a ribbon. At length he received permission to leave Russia, and went into Turkey.

After residing for some time in Moldavia, dejected and unhappy, he proceeded to Constantinople, when he was ordered to retire to Rhodes, and was there strangled in the house of the French Consul, where he had sought an asylum, but whether by the spontaneous act of a fanatical rabble, or by order of the Porte, was never ascertained.

The Empress was entertained with magnificent fire-works, and much Oriental display, by her new subjects; they vied in the most ardent attachment to their Sovereign, who had condescended to show herself amongst them. The fetes were got up with much splendour by Prince Potemkin, whom her Majesty met at Kief, and where the interview took place with the King of Poland; at Kherson a great number of foreigners were attracted to pay homage to the Empress, consisting of Spaniards, English, Greeks, and French. On her voyage up the Volga, which was attended with some danger, Catherine astonished her timid attendants by her courage, and, furthermore, she employed her active mind by translating a chapter of Belisarius into Russ, and invited her courtiers to undertake the translation of other chapters. The Empress made a splendid progress through her new dominions—an army of twelve thousand men, all in uniforms, presented her with a sham fight at Krementshuk, where her Majesty was superbly lodged; and two ships were launched, the "Joseph" and the "Wolodimar," in her presence, at the new port of Kherson, which was already become an opulent city, in the inland parts of the Krimea. Her carriage was escorted by a thousand Tartars, the new subjects of the Empress; and, wherever she went, every exertion was made to surprise her Majesty with some demonstration of loyalty and devotedness to the imperial government.

Some of the Polish Princes likewise, who were devoted to Russia, came to pay their respects to her Majesty. The Tzarina and the Emperor of Germany returned by the way of Pultova, where they were shewn the ground on which Peter the Great so completely routed his rival, Charles XII., when the Emperor Joseph could not refrain from deploring the misfortunes of the Swedish monarch. At Moscow the Emperor took leave of the Empress, with whose behaviour he was so captivated, and with the splendid scenes which he had witnessed of her reception, that it is said he readily granted her request, to assist in causing her grandson to be crowned at Constantinople, and that he promised to visit her Majesty at St. Petersburgh.

The Empress returned to her capital on the 6th July after an absence of six months and four days; the expenses of this journey having cost, it is said, nearly seven million of roubles, chiefly occasioned by costly presents on the way, distributed amongst her new subjects with right royal munificence. Thus did the great Catherine consolidate her power, extend her fame, and spread her renown over those distant regions which, by her arms and her diplomacy, she had won to the crown of Russia; her great general, Potemkin, had provided a large army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, then in the Krimea, to overawe the Tartars should any revolt happen during her Majesty's progress, though it never occurred.

The Empress visited Akhtear, Balahlava, and the celebrated valley of Bacdari. Kherson, the new town, was founded soon after the peace of 1774 between Russia and Turkey, when the independence of the Krimea was stipulated for by the former power. The town is situated in an elevated dry plain, on the right bank of the Dnieper;

it has a fortress and a large barrack for troops. What is called the military suburb, and inhabited by burghers, is built upon a gently rising plain further down the river. In the church are deposited the remains of Prince Potemkin, whose zeal to please his imperial mistress on her visit to her new dominions, is thus described by a gentleman then in the suite of the Empress:—"He ordered the peasantry of the different districts through which the Empress passed on her return journey to Kherson, to travel with carts and waggons loaded with flour, in order to convince her imperial Majesty of their flourishing condition. But there happened to be a great scarcity of corn in these provinces, the soil of which had been deluged with human blood without increasing its vegetation and fertility; the distressed peasants were obliged to convey sacks filled with sand or earth, while others, with starving horses and haggard faces, drove their empty waggons, to persuade the northern Semiramis that they were returning either from the mill or the market, where they had received the rewards due to their labour."*

* Of the Krimea we learn that Prekop was the first inhabited place, which was anciently termed the Tauridean Chersonesus; the Tartars term it "Oi Kapi," or the gate of the fortification. Sympheropol was the first seat of the Tauridean government under the Russian sway, which was subsequently transferred to Sevastopol, which was built soon after the occupation of the Krimea by the Russians. The harbour is compared to that of Malta or Mahon; the air is salubrious, and milder in winter than many other parts of the Krimea; the land and sea breezes blow alternately evenings and mornings in the direction of this port, thus refreshing the atmosphere and at the same time facilitating the arrival and departure of the ships. The maritime part of the town is called Akhtear, from a Tartar village formerly situated on the north side of the harbour, at the distance of three versts from Inkerman. The population of the Krimea, as already stated, amounted to a million and

Her Majesty now received another distinguished visiter in her capital, viz., the Emperor Joseph II. of Germany, agreebly to his promise to the Empress at Kherson. Catherine went to meet him at Mohiloff, at which place he had arrived under the title of Count Falkenstein; the habits of life of the Emperor Joseph contrasted strongly with those of her Imperial Majesty; his simplicity of manners and plainness of dress offered a strange contrast to the magnificence of Catherine. His aversion to the pomp and festivities of a court was so great, that he entreated the favour of being spared all etiquette and constraining ceremonies, which was readily granted. From Mohiloff, where Catherine was surrounded with the pomp and luxury of the nobles who formed her court, the Emperor departed alone; he had been offered a suite of splendid apartments, prepared for him at Tzarsko-zelo, which he declined occupying, but requested her Majesty's permission to take up his quarters at an inn, and, to gratify his

a half at the time of its incorporation into the Russian empire in 1784, after which time, in consequence of the peace with the Turks, an immense emigration took place, when 80,000 Christians, as well Greeks as Armenians, being at that time settled in Krim Tartary, were removed to the country between the Don and the Berder, beyond the sea of Asof. Still more numerous was the emigration of the Tartars, soon after Russia had taken possession of the Krimea, from the year 1785 to 1788. During this period many thousands of them sold their property and goods at the lowest prices, and withdrew to Anatolia and Romelia, whither almost all the surviving individuals of the reigning family of Ghirai and many nobles also retired, not to mention those who were killed in the preceding troubles, or were afterwards destroyed by the plague, and by various insurrections. Thus in the year 1793, when a census was taken throughout the empire, there were, in the whole district of the then erected government of Taurida, no more than 85,805 males, and 71,328 females; together, 157,125 persons, including all ages.—(*See Pallas' Travels in the Crimea.*)

fancy, the English gardener employed there had orders to convert his house into an inn, by hanging out a sign of the "Catherine Wheel," and to find accommodation for the Emperor; this sign was painted on a board, and below was written in German—"The Falkenstein Arms."

But notwithstanding the Emperor's dislike to parade and magnificence, the Empress gave many grand entertainments in honour of his visit, and the splendour of the imperial court shone with unusual brilliancy; but they had no charms for Joseph II., who employed himself principally in visiting every thing that was curious in the capital—the arsenals, the dockyards, and the manufactories of different kinds, were all inspected by him with close attention. At Moscow he visited the Kremlin, the churches, the monasteries, the libraries, and other interesting monuments; his Majesty was indefatigable in these pursuits. At the academy of sciences he was presented with a volume of geographical maps, on one of which was engraved his journey from Vienna to St. Petersburgh. It was at this visit that the treaty was entered into between the two Sovereigns of Russia and Austria, to attack the Ottomans in concert, and to share the spoils between them. It was thought that they had agreed to establish the ancient kingdom of Greece, which has since been the steady policy of the Russian Cabinet. The Emperor Joseph took leave of St. Petersburgh, astonished at what he had witnessed of that mixture of refinement of the upper orders, and barbarism of the lower orders, which was then so conspicuous in the new capital; but at nothing was he more astonished than to see a woman, formed for leading the whole world in chains, submit to be governed by a

favourite of her court, Prince Potemkin, whose history we will glance at as the most remarkable man of his day, and who played the most conspicuous part in the annals of this reign.

Gregory Alexandrovitch Potemkin was descended from an ancient and noble family, of the province of Smolensko. At an early period he entered into the army, and at the revolution distinguished himself among the partisans of the Empress. He signalized himself under Marshal Romanzoff in his campaign against the Turks, and was deputed by Count Peter Panin to present the keys of Bender to the Empress, when it capitulated to the Russians in 1770. Before this period Potemkin affected a violent passion for the Empress; and on the private audience when he presented the keys, he made a declaration of his passion with such warm expressions, as seemed to indicate that love had deranged his intellects. After the dismissal of Orloff, Potemkin succeeded as favourite; at the end of fifteen months he received the order to absent himself from court, but soon regained his political power, though he was obliged to yield to another favourite. From that period, he maintained a steady influence over the councils of the Empress, and at his will introduced and dismissed the successive favourites. He was perfectly acquainted with the temper and disposition of the Empress, with whom, in his intercourse, he affected to indulge a great spirit of independence. He would return only laconic answers to long letters written with her own hand, and governed her no less by remonstrances against her weaknesses, than by administering to her passions. But this did not displease the Empress, who loaded him with higher honours, and reposed in him greater confidence. His

honours, titles, and employments, exceeded any ever before possessed by a Russian subject.

Potemkin was clumsy in person, but of herculean size and strength, and, having lost an eye, it gave a sort of romance to his figure, terrific to his foes, and repulsive to all around him. He had immense riches, and his revenues were adequate to his dignities. He received during the time of favour, large estates and 9,000,000 of roubles in money; he was lord over 40,000 serfs in Polish Russia, and 5,000 in Russia; he had a pension of 75,000 roubles, and 3,000 for his table; he was prodigal of his riches, so that this unparalleled income was not equal to his boundless expenses. To supply these expenses, and to gratify his passion for amassing riches, he drew upon the treasury for sums to an unlimited amount, and none of his drafts were ever refused. He was the founder of towns and palaces, and was of most romantic courage, bold and daring; yet his address in society was not only awkward and embarrassed, but even timid and distant in mixed companies, and with strangers he was silent and reserved; but with those with whom he was intimate, he was affable, cheerful, he indulged himself in mimicry and sarcastic railleries, in which he excelled. In large societies he was frequently seen standing isolated from the company, absorbed in thought. The involuntary gestures of his body shewed the restlessness of his disposition, and the agitation of his mind, which seemed labouring with vast projects—in fact, he was satiated with pleasure, and miserable because he had no enjoyment of life to desire, and every thing to apprehend. He was not satisfied with his honours and exalted station, but was perpetually forming schemes of distinction and aggrandizement.

He wearied the empire by the number of his posts and the extent of his power; and was himself fatigued with the burthen of existence. Envious of all he did not do, and sick of all he did, rest was not grateful to him, nor occupation pleasing; every thing with him was desultory, whether business or pleasure. In every company he had an embarrassed air, and his presence was a restraint to every one; he was morose to all who stood in awe of him, and caressed such as accosted him with familiarity—ever promising, never keeping his word, and never forgetting any thing; few had read less than he, yet not many were better informed. The inequality of his temper was productive of an inconceivable oddity in his desires, in his conduct, and in his manner of life; he built a superb palace, and wished to sell it before it was finished. During his stay in St. Petersburgh, of four or five months, he spent upwards of one million two hundred thousand roubles. His singularities often put the Empress out of humour, but rendered him more interesting to her; he was capable of the most dangerous and desperate enterprises; his passions knew neither restraint nor limit; he was most unprincipled, and destitute of all morality. His ambition was boundless, and he combined the most extraordinary opposites of character; since he was liberal and avaricious—mean, bold, and cowardly.

Such was the man who boldly came one day, and took possession of the apartments of his predecessor, Orloff. Catherine first made him her favourite, then her counsellor, then her general; he created, destroyed, or confused, yet animated every thing; when absent, he alone was the subject of conversation, when present, he engaged every eye. The nobles, who detested him, and who made some figure when he was with the army,

seemed to be annihilated before him. Potemkin's death left an immense vacuity in the empire, which was as extraordinary as his life had been. He received the greatest men of the court as though they were his footmen, amongst whom he would appear with his legs bare, in a morning gown, and his hair about his ears like an ouran-outang, eating a raw carrot or a turnip, when he had just come from the Empress's apartments. Nothing could equal the activity of his mind or the indolence of his body; he wearied the empire by the greatness of his power, which might be said to have exceeded that of Catherine herself, and he displayed a pomp which would have been thought excessive in any court of Europe.

The expense of his table alone was eight hundred roubles a day, and he had such an immense quantity of jewels that his diamond coat was said to have been worth 200,000 roubles; he saw all Russia at his feet, particularly the military, of whom he was the absolute chief; his levees were frequently more thronged than those of the Empress; he was always called "The Prince," by way of distinction, although in Russia princes abound. When he received presents from his sovereign, he would immediately distribute them to others. Uncommonly affable and extremely savage, like a child wanting to have every thing, yet he cared for nothing; indifferent to heat or cold, he would often give audience in his shirt and spangled slippers, without hat or cloak, or in splendid regimentals, sometimes in a cloak ornamented with diamonds, with the portrait of the Empress, and the three stars of the orders. So full of caprice was he, that those whom he won by his graciousness and generosity, he would disgust by his coarseness and ill-humour. With all these contradictions of charac-

ter, he was an astute politician, a philosopher, an able minister, and a brave general. He had major-generals to wait upon his person, whom he treated like lackeys, and on their subservience depended their promotion; he would procure the most costly things, and, like spoilt children, throw them immediately aside. He would send a hundred leagues to obtain fruit for a feast, and would, in the winter, give as much as a rouble each for a plate of cherries; he never played on the violin, although he had a dozen at exorbitant prices, one of which cost six thousand roubles; he boasted of his library as being one of the richest in Europe, but, instead of books, he had blank cases lettered at the backs, containing bank-notes and ducats to an immense amount.

He was extremely attached to religious ceremonies, particularly to the pomp of the Greek Church, and was well versed in ecclesiastical matters. Whenever discontented with the court, or vexed with the cabals against himself, he expressed an intention to retire, and affected inclination to become a monk. He usually dined at three, then withdrew to his bed-chamber to take his afternoon nap; and when he awoke, would make his appearance in the room where the company were assembled, sometimes full dressed, at other times in his *robe de chambre* and slippers, and occasionally even without stockings. He treated the Russian nobles with great haughtiness, but was attentive and affable to foreigners. In his household he was kind to his servants, and would not suffer them to be beaten, according to the custom of the country. He was singularly voracious as well as capricious in his appetites. Potemkin was by nature and habit extremely indolent, and often neglected the most important business; but when roused to exertion,

his activity was as remarkable as his supineness. He would sometimes start from his luxurious life at St. Petersburgh, and, with scarcely a moment's notice, would travel like a courier night and day in a common kabitka for some hundreds of versts. On these journeys he would adopt the food of the Russian peasantry, particularly the black bread and salted cucumbers, until he reached the place of his destination, when he resumed his customary mode of living. Being fond of wild and expensive schemes, he was always surrounded by projectors, who continually duped and deceived him. This remarkable man united in himself most of the vices that debase and torment human nature, with many of those qualities which, if well-directed by a sound judgment, constitute greatness; with activity, magnificence, and resolution in his projects, he had the power of deriving from others stores of knowledge, which he would sometimes turn to good account.

It was his opinion that with 10,000 Russians he could march through China.

The Empress had the most unbounded confidence in Potemkin, both as her counsellor and the commander of her armies, and she conferred upon him almost every title in her gift. He was knight of all the orders of Russia, and of many foreign powers, field-marshal, prince, and commander-in-chief. Satiated with power, luxury, and splendour, the world seemed to have nothing more to offer him; he would, like a child, sometimes amuse himself with throwing his diamonds from hand to hand, like so many shells, when sitting alone. He had several pounds weight of diamonds, and an epaulette of brilliants, said to have been worth eight hundred and fifty thousand roubles.

Although he would employ himself in such frivolous matters, yet he had magnificent views both of government and of conquest; for, so daring was he in the fight, that very few generals had been equally successful in their campaigns. He would never control his appetite, but eat and drank enormously; he would send to St. Petersburgh, a distance of two thousand versts, to make his favourite sterlet soup; to Riga for oysters, and to the Krimea for oranges. He was more attached to dissipation than to the glories of the field, and he had attained such influence over his royal mistress, that he rather dictated to her than obeyed her commands; he eclipsed the lustre, and despised the power of his Sovereign; she was wearied of him, and prevailed upon him to take the command of the army in Turkey.

Potemkin ruled her with an absolute sway, by keeping her in constant dread of the Grand Duke, from whom she had nothing to fear. Thus, while on the one hand he flattered her ruling passion, on the other, he kept awake those fears which insured to himself a lasting tenure of office. He was constantly occupied with the idea of rajsing an empire in the East, with which he had so imbued his sovereign, that she had her grandson, Constantine, educated by Greeks, and made no secret of her intentions of placing him on the throne of the Eastern Empire, whilst she was building a tower for him near Tzarsko-zelo, to be called Constantingorod. The favourite topic of conversation between the Empress and her privy counsellor was, that a new empire should be established at Athens or Constantinople. Prince Potemkin's end was as singular as his life had been remarkable. He was attacked with fever at Yassy, where a congress was being held to conclude the Turkish war;

here he became gloomy, melancholy, and a prey to disease; he determined to struggle with it, and overcome it by his iron constitution, laughing at his physicians, eating salt meat and raw turnips. His disease grew worse; he would be conveyed to Otzakoff, the place of his beloved conquest, but had scarcely advanced a few versts before the air of his carriage seemed to stifle him; his cloak was spread by the road-side, he was laid on it, and expired in the arms of his niece, Branicka, who accompanied him. Catherine fainted on hearing of his death, and it was found necessary to bleed her; she shut herself up in her apartments for three days, but principally to arrange for her ministers to take the occupations of Potemkin. A report having been spread that the prince was poisoned, his body, was brought back to Yassy, and there opened, but not the slightest indication was found to warrant the suspicion.

Prince Potemkin died October 15, 1791, in the fifty-second year of his age, having maintained his ascendency over Catherine for nearly twenty years. From the place of his death, his remains were conveyed to Kherson, and deposited beneath the dome of a small church belonging to the fortress, where Catherine expressed an intention of erecting a superb monument to his memory, but never carried it into effect. When the Emperor Paul ascended the throne, he ordered the body of the prince to be removed, and thrown into the ditch of the fortress, where a hole was dug, and there was thrust into it, like a dead dog, the remains of the man who had so long domineered over the haughty Catherine.

We will now give a short narrative of a splendid *fête* given by the prince at his palace, previously to his setting

out on his Turkish campaign; it tends to show, not only the rapid progress which the arts and civilisation had made in the short period at St. Petersburgh since the city sprung from her bogs, but of the voluptuous luxury indulged in by the Court, exceeding that of any other in Europe.

The Empress Catherine, in order to do honour to her favourite Potemkin, ordered the Taurida Palace to be built—an immense edifice, the façade of which is composed of a long colonnade, supporting a cupola; it opens into a grand vestibule, communicating with apartments to the right and left, receiving light from the top, and surrounded at a great height by a gallery, intended for an orchestra, and containing an organ; from which a double row of pillars leads to the principal saloon, designed for grand entertainments.

It is impossible to describe the impression made by this gigantic temple, being upwards of a hundred paces long, with colossal pillars, between which were boxes ornamented with festoons, elegantly sculptured, and furnished with drapery; from the vaulted roof are suspended globular lamps, and large lustres of cut glass, from which the light is infinitely reflected by great plates of looking-glass, placed at all the extremities of the vast hall, which has neither furniture nor ornaments except two superb vases of Carrara marble, astonishing for their size and the beauty of their workmanship, placed one at each of the semicircular ends of the saloon. Adjoining this saloon are the Winter Gardens, separated only from it by the grand colonnade.

The vault of this enormous edifice is supported by pillars in the form of palm-trees. Within the walls are flues to conduct heat round the building, and tubes of

metal, filled with hot water, keep up an uniform temperature beneath the delightful parterre. The eye wanders with rapture over the plants and shrubs of every clime, rests with admiration on an antique bust, or views with astonishment the various fishes of all hues in crystal vases. A transparent obelisk reproduces to the eye, under a thousand different tints, these wonders of art and nature, and a grotto hung with mirrors reflects them in endless multiplication. The delicious temperature, the intoxicating odour of the flowers, and the voluptuous silence of this enchanting spot, plunge the mind into a pleasing reverie, and transport the imagination to the groves of Italy; the illusion continues, till destroyed by the aspect of all the rudeness and severity of winter, as the enchanted eye wanders through the windows, and beholds the frost and snow surrounding this magnificent garden. In the midst of this elysium rises the majestic statue of Catherine II. in Parian marble.

It was in this theatre of his grandeur that Potemkin arranged the preparations for the entertainment he gave his sovereign, previously to his departure for the southern provinces, which was his last campaign. The following particulars are given of it by Storche, in his "Picture of Petersburgh:"—"The preparations for this entertainment were immense, like every thing to which his imagination gave birth; artists of all kinds having been employed in making them for several months. More than a hundred persons assembled daily to prepare themselves for the parts he designed them to perform, and every rehearsal was a kind of festivity. At length the appointed day arrived, to gratify the impatience of the whole capital. Besides the Empress and the Imperial family, Prince Potemkin had invited all the

court, the foreign ministers, the Russian nobility, and many individuals of the first rank in society. At six in the evening, the entertainment was opened with a masked ball, when the carriage of the Empress approached. Meat, drink, and clothes of all sorts, were distributed in profusion amongst the assembled populace. The Empress entered the vestibule at the sound of lively music, executed by upwards of two hundred performers; then she appeared in the principal saloon, whither she was followed by the crowd, and ascended a platform, raised for her in the centre of the saloon, and surrounded by transparent decorations with appropriate inscriptions.

"The company ranged themselves under the colonnade, and in the boxes, and then commenced the first act of this extraordinary spectacle. The Grand Dukes, Alexander and Constantine, at the head of the flower of all the young persons about the Court, performed a ballet; the dancers, male and female, were forty-eight in number, all dressed in white, with magnificent scarfs, and covered with jewels, estimated to be worth ten millions of roubles. The ballet was performed to select airs, suitable to the occasion, and interspersed with songs; the celebrated Lepicq concluded it with a *pas* of his own composing. The company then removed to another saloon, adorned with the richest tapestry the Gobelins could produce. In the centre was an artificial elephant, covered with rubies and emeralds, and his *cornac* was a Persian richly clad. On his giving the signal, by striking on a bell, a curtain rose, and a magnificent stage was at the end of the apartment. On it were performed two ballets of novel description, and a lively comedy, by which the company were much amused, concluded the spectacle; this was

followed by choral songs, various dances, and an Asiatic procession, all representing the different nations subject to the sceptre of the Russian Sovereign. Presently after; all the apartments, magnificently illuminated with variegated lamps, were thrown open to the eager curiosity of the crowd. The whole palace seemed in a blaze. The garden was covered with sparkling stones; crystal mirrors innumerable, in pyramidal and globular forms, reflected the magic spectacle in all directions. A table was spread with six hundred covers, and the rest of the guests were served standing. The table service was of gold and silver; the most exquisite dainties were served in vessels of the greatest richness, antique cups overflowed with the most costly liquors, and the table was lighted by chandeliers of uncommon magnificence. Officers and domestics in great number, richly habited, were eager to anticipate the wishes of the guests.

"The Empress, contrary to her custom, remained till midnight, as if dreading that her departure should interrupt the felicity of her favourite. As she retired, numerous bands of singers and harmonious music made the vaulted roof of the palace resound with a hymn to her praise. At this she was so moved, that she turned towards Potemkin to express her satisfaction; he, overpowered by the sentiment of what he owed his sovereign, fell at her feet, courteously took her hand, and watered it with his tears. This was the last time he had an opportunity of testifying, in this place, his gratitude to the august author of his grandeur."

From the luxury and splendour of the Court of Russia, we will now proceed to show the foreign policy of the Empress Catherine; her ambitious designs, her love of

conquest, and the flagitious way in which they were to be accomplished, began to develop themselves.

The Tzarina was as capable of overreaching her allies as of subduing her enemies; with so much sagacity and spirit had she conducted her affairs, that, without going to war, she had acquired the vast territory of the Krimea, and incorporated it into the Russian Empire. Her Majesty interfered with all the important transactions of Europe; she flattered France, cajoled England, and allied Denmark to her interest by promising her the restoration of the Duchy of Holstein.

She had an inordinate desire for notoriety; and of nothing was she more apprehensive, than that men should cease to talk about her. Such was the governing passion which prompted her to vast and dangerous undertakings, and of these the spoliation of Turkey was the most prominent.

In order to flatter her subjects, as well as to do honour to his great name, the statue of Peter the Great was inaugurated at this time with great pomp. The idea originated with the Empress herself, thus to immortalize the reign of her illustrious predecessor; and she wrote to Falconnet at Paris to execute the monument. He conceived the design of having for the pedestal a rude rock, to indicate to posterity the difficulties which the heroic legislator had surmounted, and of placing thereon a statue—the only one of its kind in the world, and worthy of perpetuating the memory of the great monarch. All this was done. A rock was found in a vast morass, not far from the gulf of Finland, a distance of twelve versts from St. Petersburgh, whither it was conveyed by a very ingenious contrivance, on grooves filled with cannon-balls, and dragged forward by windlasses. The

weight of this rock was one thousand eight hundred tons; it was twenty-one feet high, and eighty-three feet long, and was transported on a raft from the coast, with the most ingenious contrivance for shipping and landing, for which the first mechanics were invited.

The statue, which is colossal, is bold, and a great master-piece of art. The Tzar is on horseback, galloping up the steep rock, at the summit of which the horse's legs are plunging, as it were, over the precipice; but the mild dignity of the monarch, who is crowned with laurels, extending his right arm, whilst with the left he holds the bridle of the horse; his beauty of form, and elegance of attitude, are wonderful proofs of the artist's skill, and so striking, that scarcely any print or representation of it is at all equal to the beauty of the original. The statue is eleven feet in height, and the horse is seventeen feet, which is artfully supported in its position, by the tail being twisted with great dexterity on a brazen serpent, on which the animal is trampling. To preserve its proper equilibrium, ten thousand pounds' weight of iron is cast in the hind quarters. The weight of the whole, exclusive of the counterpoise, is 1331¾ English tons. This magnificent work of art stands in the "great place" of the admiralty, towards which, in letters of cast metal, are inscribed, "Petro pervoma Ekaterina utoria, 1782," and on the side near the senate, "Petro primo, Catherina secunda." It was nine years in erecting, and cost 424,610 roubles.

On the day of inauguration, the Empress appeared in the balcony of the senate-house, and solemnized the event by distributing gold and silver medals, with the work of art on one side of the medal, and the inscription on the other. The festivity was kept up with every demon-

stration of rejoicings, such as had seldom before distinguished the city of St. Petersburgh.

It was not expected that the peace concluded with the Sublime Porte would be of long continuance. The events of the war had *compelled* the Turks to submission; but, when they were called upon for a full compliance with all its terms, they felt the degradation of their position, and that it would be almost at once to surrender the keys of the Ottoman Empire to their implacable enemy. Various delays and difficulties were thrown in the way of permitting Russian vessels passing from the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles. They were stopped at Constantinople, nor ever permitted to proceed further on their voyage. A treaty had been entered into with the Emperor Joseph by the Empress Catherine; these two sovereigns having succeeded so well in the spoliation of Poland, it was thought that they had equally agreed for the spoliation of Turkey: the terms of this treaty are not known, but the results are now the subject of history. Some pretences were required, and, since they were found wanting, the Tzarina endeavoured to drive the Turks into hostilities by further aggressions; she goaded into rebellion against the Porte her own subjects, both the Mahommedan tribes on the shores of the Euxine, and south of the Caucasus, and she did the same with the nomad tribes of other countries. In this way, Russia violated every engagement which she had entered into with the Porte, who seemed now to take alarm at the meeting of the two Sovereigns, Catherine and Joseph; they were convinced by fatal experience that concessions only led to further aggressions, and they boldly resolved on war, by giving the usual notice of sending the Russian ambassador, Bulgakoff, to the Castle of the Seven Towers. At

the same time the Turks issued a manifesto, in which the Grand Seignior appealed to his subjects in the boldest language, calling upon them to take up arms against the "Kaffirs," or Infidels, and to protect the true faith.

At St. Petersburgh the news was received with the greatest joy; the war had long been expected, and immense preparations were made to meet it: every thing seemed to favour the ambitious views of the Empress towards Constantinople. Having secured the powerful alliance of the Emperor of Germany, his troops were already on the march, and the Russian army, headed by Prince Potemkin, had begun to move. The Empress no longer dissembled her views of the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, and earnestly invited the ambassador of France to join her in the mighty enterprise, by offering to that power the possession of Egypt, of the conquest of which she thought herself secure, having endeavoured to excite rebellion in that province through Ibrahim Bey, whom she had corrupted; to head a formidable insurrection which was put down by the Capitan Pasha. A manifesto was published on the 8th April, 1788, by the Empress, in which she reproached the Turks for that very violation of treaties which she had herself committed, charging them with the blackest perfidy, and with a contempt of the most solemn engagements, "that, provoked by so offensive a conduct, she had, much against her will, been obliged to have recourse to arms; that, perfectly innocent of all the calamities inevitably engendered by war, she had a right to rely, not only on the providence of God, and the assistance of her allies, but on the devout aspirations of the Christian world for the triumph of a cause so just as that which she was

forced to maintain;" in addition to which, papers were circulated containing the prophecies of two patriarchs, Jeremiah and Nicon, predicting the speedy ruin of Constantinople.*

The war with Turkey was now pursued with the utmost vigour, and immense preparations were made by Russia for new aggressions upon her defenceless enemy. Three armies were assembled, amounting together to nearly two hundred thousand men; one of them under the command of Potemkin in the Krimea, another under Repnin ready to co-operate with him, and a third under Romanzoff at Kief, whilst two formidable fleets were prepared for action, one in the Baltic, another in the Euxine.

The Emperor Joseph, on his part, was indefatigable in the war; he visited Hungary, and examined personally the state of the garrisons and of the magazines, and sent down by the Danube immense quantities of ammunition and provisions, and a prodigious weight of artillery: he sent, likewise, a contingent force of 80,000 Austrians into Moldavia, which obliged the Turks to keep a large army of observation on the frontier; the fleet in the Euxine was to co-operate with the allied troops, and that in the Baltic was to sail for the Mediterranean. These formidable preparations for war seemed to promise the most favourable results for the ambitious Tzarina, and to warrant her sanguine hopes that she should one day reign supreme at Constantinople.

Nor were the Turks behind with their preparations for defending themselves. Their armies on the frontiers exceeded a hundred and fifty thousand men; they were

* Tooke.

better provided, and much better disciplined than they had been during the late war: some European officers, particularly French, had joined the service, whose engineers had much improved their artillery; and the Porte prepared vigorously for war, by issuing a manifesto in reply to that of Russia, setting forth the aggressions of that power, by their seizing the Krimea contrary to the last treaty; and, many other complaints being enumerated, they stated, "that for all these reasons, and others, either secret or public, which it is impossible to enumerate, the Sublime Porte is obliged to declare war." The Grand Vizier, in whom both the Sultan and his subjects had the greatest confidence, was entrusted with the general command, and such powers were confided to him as were quite unusual from the great Sultan of Turkey. A large army marched to the banks of the Danube, where the standard of Mahomet was unfurled amidst the utmost enthusiasm of the troops, and a respectable fleet was assembled in the Euxine.

The campaign was opened with ardour in 1788, by an attack on the Russians from the garrison of Otzakof by 5000 Turks, who were repulsed with heavy loss, but the Russians likewise experienced some disasters about the same time; their fleet in the Euxine was dispersed by a storm, and some vessels were lost. During this year there were no decided successes on either side which could probably lead to the termination of hostilities. In the following year the Turkish fleet was defeated, in consequence of which the Capitan Pasha was strangled by order of the Sultan, whose death occurred on the 7th April, 1789, and he was succeeded by Selim III.; but this made no difference in the character of the war, which was now adverse to the Turks.

It seemed astonishing that Europe should look on unconcernedly, when two of the greatest powers in the world had avowed their intention of the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire; this, too, immediately after the fatal precedent of the dismemberment of Poland. They had now combined their most formidable forces against the Turks, and their arms were rapidly successful, for many fortresses fell one after the other into their hands—Akerman, Galazza, and Bender; and they would have been more successful but for the jealousy of the other Russian generals of Potemkin, who would tolerate no competitor of his honour. Catherine complained to Romanzoff of his inactivity; he replied, "That he did not attack the enemy, because their troops were so much more numerous than his own," to which the Empress wrote, "That the Romans never asked after the number of their enemies, but where they were to be found."

Romanzoff quitted the army in disgust with the haughty conduct of Potemkin, who attributed all the glory to himself, and the failure to others. Suwarrow was the most active of the Russian generals; he first distinguished himself at Kinburn, where he had the command of the fortress. The pasha of Otzakoff embarked 6000 men in some small vessels, designing to take possession of that fort; Suwarrow allowed them to land without opposition, he then marched out at the head of two battalions with bayonets fixed, when the Turks were all slain, or drowned in the sea, the Russian general himself receiving a dangerous wound in the neck.

Suwarrow was the most extraordinary man of his time, combining, with the highest talents for war, a superstitious influence over the minds of his soldiers; his arrival in the camp infused such energy amongst them,

that they were enabled with a comparatively small force to defeat 100,000 Turks. But to bravery he added the most ferocious disposition; no loss of life was too costly with him to carry success; his triumphs were massacres, and his victories stained with the greatest cruelties, which procured him the nickname of "Muley Ismæel," alluding to the Emperor of Morocco of that name, one of the most sanguinary men that ever existed. Suwarrow's storming Ismail was one of the most important events of the war, displaying such a daring intrepidity on one side, and the most undaunted and unconquerable valour on the other, that it astonished all Europe, and gave to this transaction the character of a most savage conflict.

In the following year hostilities were re-commenced. Prince Potemkin headed the Russian armies when he invested Otzakoff; but as his battering artillery had not yet arrived, he could not commence a regular siege; his field artillery was light. He erected batteries against the town, and against the Turkish light fleet of galleys, which were keeping up communication with the place, and these were soon destroyed. Otzakoff was garrisoned with 20,000 choice troops, and the vigour, obstinacy, and perseverance of the defence, proved the astonishing bravery of the Turkish troops; the sallies of the garrison were frequent, not often successful, but they were desperately supported, and proved disastrous to the enemy. It was astonishing to see a single fortress, cut off from all possibility of succour, for so long a time resisting the repeated attacks of the Russian army under their experienced general; winter approached, and the combatants were retiring into winter-quarters, when the prospects of taking the place seemed to be as remote as ever.

This was most annoying to the commander-in-chief.

Both his character and the honour of the Empire were much affected by a failure in this object of the campaign; it was likewise particularly felt at St. Petersburgh, where such obstinate resistance of the Turks had not been reckoned upon. Measures of concealment from the people were taken of the real state of the war, and a decree was issued, strictly forbidding, under the heaviest penalties, all merchants and others, particularly Jews and foreigners, from taking any notice whatsoever of public affairs, of the war, or of any matters relative to the state, or of the transactions of the state, the fleets or armies, in the letters which they dispatched to their foreign correspondents.

The insufferable cold of the winter made dreadful havoc among the men and animals in the Russian camp, rendered more insupportable by the scarcity of firewood; the cavalry deserted the camp; the infantry, sinking under the most intolerable distress, burdened and dispirited by the loss of their fellows, could scarcely be retained to their duty. It was in this deplorable state of affairs, when rout and disgrace appeared little less than inevitable, that the fortune of Russia rose superior to all difficulties, and, by a most fortuitous circumstance, covered her arms with glory and victory.

The siege of Otzakoff was renewed on the 29th August, 1789, and, as the besiegers advanced towards the fortress, General Suwarrow, who was then in command of the Russian forces, received a ball in the nape of the neck, which caused so much pain that he found it necessary to return to the camp; his horse at the same time received several shots, and died as they were taking off the saddle. The general was removed to Kilburn for the recovery of his wound, where he nearly lost his life

in consequence of a fire taking place in the powder magazine, where were all sorts of combustibles, such as bombs and grenades, prepared for the siege of Otzakoff, which was continued with great obstinacy for four months; when Prince Potemkin, as the last effort, on the 17th December ordered a dreadful general bombardment and cannonade of the place with red-hot balls. One of these fell upon the grand powder magazine, which, being amply provided, blew up with so terrible an explosion, as to demolish too great a portion of the wall to admit of the fortress being any longer tenable. The Turks, notwithstanding, defended both the breach and the streets with the most desperate valour; and the brave Aga, who commanded them, disdaining to survive his men, rejected all offers of quarter, and was consequently cut to pieces. The slaughter was enormous, as many as 7400 Turks were said to have been killed in the action or in the field, besides those that were sabred in the streets. The governor, Achmet Pasha, not holding the same contempt of life displayed by the intrepid Aga, was slaughtered in his house, to the great chagrin of Prince Potemkin, who hoped to have him grace his triumphal return to St. Petersburgh.

The loss of the Russians in this assault was estimated at 4000 men killed or wounded, and nearly 200 officers are included in the former list; so that the action must have been exceedingly hard fought and severe. In 1737, Otzakoff had been taken in a similar way by Marshal Munich, when the exploding of a shell blew up the powder magazine; the marshal would have been otherwise obliged to raise the siege in disgrace, and the consequences would probably have been the loss of half his army. On the present occasion, the taking

of Otzakoff occurred on the day of St. Nicholas, the great patron of the Russian empire; the festival was therefore marked as a very ominous victory of the Christians over the Mahommedans, and was made much of amongst the troops.

The Empress, fully sensible of the value of those great events which hung upon the taking of Otzakoff, exceeded even her usual munificence in the rewards she bestowed upon the fortunate conquerors. Prince Potemkin, besides a letter of thanks, and the honour of having medals struck to eternize his glory, received a staff of command entwined with laurels, richly ornamented with diamonds, and a present in money of a hundred thousand roubles. The generals, Prince Repnin and Suwarrow, received magnificent gold-hilted swords richly set with diamonds, and the latter had a gorgeous plume of diamonds to wear in his hat. Estates, peasants, and sums of money were distributed to the other commanders; gold-hilted swords were bestowed upon all the officers, down to the rank of lieutenant-colonels and majors. The widow of an artillery colonel who was slain in the attack, was, with her children, consoled by a good estate. Promotion was extended to officers of a lower order, and even the non-commissioned subalterns and common soldiers who were concerned in that great affair, were ornamented with silver medals.

Amidst all her various occupations, the commercial relations with foreign courts did not escape the vigilant attentions of the Tzarina, who, in 1780, made proposals to the Emperor of China, to appoint the little town of Kiachta to be the common rendezvous of the Russian and Chinese merchants. At the same time the Empress sent an archimandrite from Moscow, with

several young Russians, to go to Pekin and study the language; some towns and villages were built on the frontiers of China, where people were sent to colonize; but these towns were soon destroyed by the rapacity of the Russian governors. Some maritime expeditions were likewise sent to Kamtschatka, and several Russian vessels proceeded to China, where they traded with success, and an attempt was made to cultivate commercial intercourse with Japan, since the northern coast of Russia approximated to that country. Some Japanese natives were wrecked on this coast; they were kindly received by the Russians, and remained a sufficient time in the country to learn something of the language, and through them, on their return home, it was endeavoured to establish a commercial intercourse between the two nations of Russia and Japan, the results of which are most imperfectly known.

The Empress likewise sent some learned persons into the Caucasus, to explore and examine those remote provinces and other distant parts of her immense empire. In addition to which a military expedition was dispatched, headed by Baron de Valchen Stadtz, who, with 800 men and 107 officers of different distinctions, was accompanied by pioneers, draughtsmen, engineers, and naturalists, to explore those unknown regions, and to report the result of their researches; but they discovered only a small colony of strangers shut up in the wilds of the Caucasus, supposed to have been descended from the Bohemians, who, flying from the religious persecutions of their country, took the shelter which these remote deserts afforded them. The travels published by Pallas and Reiniggs acquaint us with the geographical, botanical, and natural history of these countries, so far as they were

able to explore them. It is a remarkable proof of the vast extent of the Russian empire, that such exploring parties and land expeditions should be sent out within their own territories.

The products of Russia were now so developed, consisting of corn, furs, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, tallow, deals, and masts, that foreign nations were desirous of cultivating commerce with that country; hence the court of Great Britain sent Alleyne Fitzherbert, Esq., in quality of Minister Plenipotentiary, to conclude a commercial treaty with Russia. Segur, on the part of France, likewise concluded a treaty; and towards the end of the same year, another treaty was formed with the Emperor of Germany, granting to his subjects all the advantages of the most favoured nations, whilst similar negotiations were entered into with other powers, to which Russia was indebted for that progress of improvement and civilisation which she received, and the whole empire found a ready vent for their produce, and a supply of the numberless European commodities which they wanted to facilitate domestic commerce. The Empress became the great money-lender of the empire. A bank was opened with a capital of thirty-three millions of roubles, which was empowered to issue bills for a hundred millions more, amounting at that time to twenty millions sterling: but it was particularly restricted from a too great issue of paper. Eleven millions of this capital was destined to the encouragement of foreign commerce, and the internal trade of the empire, to be lent on approved securities, at the rate of four per cent. interest; whilst the remainder of the capital was destined to relieve the nobility, by loans on the mortgages of their estates, with such a number of villages and peasants as should appear to the directors a sufficient

security, for which they were charged five per cent. interest, and three per cent. towards a redeeming fund. Such were the measures established by the Tzarina for the benefit and relief of her subjects.

With the different powers of Europe, Catherine had not entered into any hostilities; and, when they attempted to interfere with her ambitious designs in the East, she met them with that prompt defiance which completely checked all such interference. Her Majesty's spirit of toleration towards others was most conspicuous, both in religion and politics, hence she claimed the same immunities; but the court of Great Britain felt at one time very jealous of Catherine's conquests in the East, and some attempts were made by negotiation to bring about a termination of hostilities between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, in return for which the Empress would not renew the treaty of commerce. It was argued in the House of Commons, "that the aggrandizement of Russia and the depression of Turkey would materially affect both the political and commercial interests of Great Britain," which declaration seems to have had no effect upon the Russian Cabinet, and the war was pursued with more vigour than ever.

Geography, in the reign of Catherine, made rapid progress. So early as the year 1765, the Empress set on foot an expedition of able men for surveying the country and the frontiers, which they pursued with great diligence.

The progress of medicine was remarkable, as in the year 1770 there were not three books on medical subjects printed in Russia, whereas a great many were now published, and particularly translations from the German.

History also made great progress, and Catherine gave

a model in her "Pieces relating to Russian History," well known throughout Europe, in what manner the history of a country should be sought out and traced. A challenge from so high a quarter could not be long without effect, and many candidates sprang up for historical fame; some works were written—such as Golikoff's history of "Peter the Great," and many other writers thus distinguished themselves. The cultivation of the national language had taken quite a new direction, and even other languages were cultivated which were not known to the rest of Europe.

The versatility of the vast and comprehensive mind of Catherine embraced not only the welfare of her own empire, but the union with foreign states, of which she had become, with some of them, the mediatrix, with others the dictator. The peace of Teschen, between the belligerent powers of Germany and the French King, was signed through the mediation of the Empress; she also adjusted the differences between the King of Prussia and the city of Dantzic, and she successfully mediated between England and Holland, so as effectually to lead to the termination of hostilities; she formed treaties of commerce with all the neutral powers, and, upon the death of Frederick, Catherine attained the summit of her glory; since, by crushing the intrigues of Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, she became the arbitress of the crowned heads of Europe. All this she attained by the force of her own character, since her councillors were only the instruments of her will, with the exception of Potemkin, whom at length she could not tolerate, and, as already related, she sent him to the army, where her former favourite became as great in the field as he had been in the cabinet.

Catherine's intuitive sagacity of character was remarkable; hence she was ably served in every department of her government. Her ambassadors were cunning and dexterous, and then began that school of diplomacy which has ever since so distinguished the Russian Cabinet; her prodigal liberality to those who served her well, ensured to her the first talent; this has likewise been ever since a distinctive feature of the successive governments of Russia. Her generals were brave and victorious, many of them foreigners, who had taught the Russians to lead on their troops to victory, but Suwarrow, a native, was the principal one; her ministers were remarkable for their obedience, and were merely the creatures of her will. Thus her immense empire grew with almost romantic strides; aggression was the principle—conquest was the end. With many territories she began as protector and ended as sovereign; never was she known to retrace her steps except from policy, not from force. The luxury of her court, and the brilliant victories of her armies, dazzled the princes of Europe; the only check which she received, and which came upon her like an electric shock, was the French revolution, which by no force of diplomacy, or of arms, could she interfere to avert; she therefore sealed her empire hermetically, as it were, from the contagion, not allowing even a newspaper from France to circulate in her dominions.

This great sovereign enjoyed, at this time, a power and glory unparalleled in her annals. The successes of her wars shed a halo of splendour on her country, whose affairs were conducted on so grand a scale as to dazzle surrounding nations. Russia sat supreme between Europe and Asia, and looked like the dictator of both, by the genius and talent of the Tzarina; she had

infused new life into every part of her fast-growing empire; all her measures were not only bold, but politic, and seemed to partake of that consummate wisdom which brought them to a happy conclusion; even her vices and her crimes were great — so were her conquests; and it must be confessed that Catherine acted a grand part in the drama of Europe, such as had never been played before. The munificence of the Empress was most prodigal; amongst other examples, she bestowed on Count Panin, who had been governor to the Grand Duke Paulovitch, and subsequently her minister, £35,000 in money, with which to buy plate and furniture, and the choice of any house in St. Petersburgh, to be purchased for his residence, with a pension for life of £7000 a year, and an estate with 7000 peasants.

The Count was generous, and seeing that neither his aides-de-camp nor secretaries were rewarded by the Empress, he divided amongst them the 7000 peasants.

Potemkin resisted him in the council, and deprived him of the management of affairs; he was at length discarded by his imperial mistress, when his health began to decline, and he died on the 31st March, 1783, leaving behind him the character of an honest, well-meaning man. At his death his estates were sold for 17,300 roubles, which did not prove sufficient to pay his debts.

Even amidst the multitudinous duties of her government, the great Catherine found time for the pleasures of her court, the splendour of which is thus described by an English traveller, visiting St. Petersburgh at this time: —"The richness and splendour of the Russian court surpasses description; it retains many traces of the Asiatic pomp, blended with European refinement.

"An immense retinue of courtiers always followed and preceded the Empress—the costliness and glare of their apparel, and a profusion of precious stones, create a splendour of which the magnificence of other courts gives a faint idea.

"Amid the sumptuous articles which distinguish the Russian nobility, none, perhaps, is more likely to strike a foreigner than the profusion of diamonds, and other precious stones, which sparkle in every part of the dress. In most other European countries, these costly ornaments are chiefly appropriated to the ladies; but here the men vie with the other sex in the use of them. Many of the nobility are almost covered with diamonds —hat, buttons, buckles, hilts of swords, and epaulettes are set with diamonds; their hats are frequently embroidered, if I may use the expression, with several roses, and a diamond star on the coat is scarcely a distinction. The passion for jewels seems to pervade the lower orders of people, for even private families abound with them, and the wife of a Russian burgher will appear with a head-dress or girdle of pearls, and other precious stones, of the value of two or three hundred pounds.

"Two or three times in winter, there are masquerades at court, to which persons of all ranks are admitted. At one of these entertainments which we attended, eight thousand tickets were distributed,* and a magnificent suite of twenty apartments, handsomely illuminated, was opened on the occasion. One of these, a large oblong room, the same in which the common balls at court are held, had a space in the middle, enclosed with a low railing, appropriated to the nobility who danced. An elegant saloon, of an oval form, called the Great Hall of

* See Coxe's Travels in Russia.

Apollo, nearly as spacious as the Rotunda at Ranelagh, but without supports in the middle, was allotted for the dancers of the burghers, and other persons who had not been presented; the remaining rooms, in which tea and other refreshments were served, were filled with oval tables, and crowded with persons continually passing and repassing. The company either retained their masks, or threw them off at pleasure.

"The nobles in general wore dominoes—the natives of inferior rank appeared in their own primeval clothes, perhaps embellished with occasional ornaments. An exhibition of the different dresses actually used by the different inhabitants of the Russian empire, afforded a greater variety of motley figures than the wildest fancy ever invented at the masquerade of other countries. Several merchants were decked with large quantities of pearls, many of which were again split in halves for the purpose of making more show. At seven the Empress made her appearance, at the head of a superb quadrille, consisting of eight ladies, led by as many gentlemen. Her Majesty and the ladies of the select band were sumptuously apparelled in Greek habits, and the gentlemen were accoutred in the Romaic military garb, their helmets richly studded with diamonds.

"The Empress led the way, leaning upon the arm of Marshal Razumotski, and, passing in great state through the several apartments, walked two or three times round the Hall of Apollo, and then sat down to cards in an adjoining saloon. The company flocked thither in crowds without distinction, and arranged themselves round the table at a respectful distance. The Empress withdrew, as usual, about eleven.

"A separate edifice, called the Hermitage, communi-

cates with the palace by means of a covered gallery. It takes this appellation because it is the scene of imperial retirement, but bears no resemblance to a hermitage, the apartments being extremely spacious, and decorated in a style of regal magnificence. To this favourite spot the Empress frequently repairs two or three hours every day, and on Thursday evening gives a private ball and supper to the principal persons of her court—ambassadors and foreigners being seldom invited. At this entertainment all ceremony is hushed, as far as is consistent with the respect due to a great sovereign; the attendance of servants being excluded, the supper and various refreshments are presented on small tables, which rise and fall through trapdoors. Many directions for the regulation of this select society are disposed in the various apartments, and their general tendency was to encourage freedom, banish etiquette, and invite the most unrestrained ease. One written in the French language was as follows—'*Asseyez-vous ou vous voulez et quand il vous plaira sans qu'on le repète mille fois.*' A winter and summer garden, comprised within the site of the buildings, are singular curiosities, and such as do not perhaps occur in any other palace of Europe. The summer garden, in the true Asiatic style, occupies the whole level of the edifice, but at this season of the year was buried under the snow. The winter garden is roofed and surrounded with glass frames; it is a high and spacious hot-house, laid out in grand walks, ornamented with parterres of flowers, orange-trees, and other shrubs, and peopled with several birds of sundry sorts and various climates, which flutter from tree to tree; the whole exhibited a pleasing effect, and was the more delightful as being contrasted with the season of the

year. A handsome range of buildings was added to this, containing the cabinet of pictures.

"The Empress was accustomed to rise at six, and was generally engaged until eight or nine on public business with her secretary. At ten she generally began her toilette, and, while her hair was dressing, the ministers of state and the aide-de-camp in waiting received their orders. Being dressed at about eleven, she sent for her grand-children, the young princes Constantine and Alexander, or visited them in their apartments. Before dinner she receives the Grand Duke and Duchess, and sits down at table rather before one. She has always company at dinner, usually nine persons, consisting of the Generals and Lords in waiting, a lady of the bedchamber, a maid of honour, and two or three of the Russian nobles whom she invites.

"Their Imperial Highnesses dine with her three times a week, on which days the party is increased to eighteen. The lord of the bedchamber in waiting, who sits opposite to the Empress, carves one dish and presents it to her, a ceremony which, having once politely accepted, she afterwards dispenses with. Her Majesty is remarkably temperate, and is seldom at table more than an hour; from thence she retires to her own apartment, and at three frequently repairs to her library in the hermitage. At five she visits the theatre, or a private concert, and when there is any court in the evening, has a small party at cards, and is usually in bed before eleven."

The Empress went frequently from the council to the ball-room, and from the important sittings of the senate to the theatre, or to the most frivolous amusements; she gave audience to the foreign ambassadors

frequently, without changing her dress from what she wore to receive courtiers, and she dictated a law with the same facility with which she wrote a billet. Catherine, who, although triumphant over her enemies, and projecting further aggrandizement to her already enormous empire, the admiration of Europe, and adored by her courtiers, was often a prey to the greatest disquietude. She feared being hurled from the throne which she had gained so ignominiously, and "conscience, which makes cowards of us all," whispered to the *woman* and alarmed the EMPRESS; but she possessed great self-command, and, whatever were her sentiments, she had always the appearance of gentleness, sincerity, and generosity. It is said that she one day found a paper in her cabinet, threatening her with assassination, but never at any time did she show herself more confident and sedate. She possessed in society a certain charm and grace, which fascinated every one around her. She could assume airs of courtesy, when a sweet smile would overspread her features; but even her very politeness was an act of insincerity, since she was so well versed in dissimulation; but she was capable of noble acts of magnanimity. Amidst the most degraded debasement of moral depravity, she kept up an appearance of decorum, even showing an outward respect for that virtue which she could not imitate. Her court was distinguished by the grossest vices, of which she set the example; and, so completely was shame extinguished in her mind, that she seemed to glory in her criminalities, and in this point of view it led to the most pernicious consequences to her Empire.

The jealousy of the Russian government towards that of Sweden had been always kept up from the time of

Peter the Great, whose wars with Charles XII. have been already narrated; but the ambition of Catherine was directed to the subjugation of that kingdom, which, by her policy, she was continually dividing; and the arrogant conduct of her resident minister at Stockholm, at length led to some demonstration of war on the part of Sweden. As a nation, Sweden had the greatest cause of resentment against Russia, for past injuries and losses; at the same time that she had every thing to dread from the overgrown power and boundless ambition of the Tzarina. Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Carelia were in the hands of the ancient enemy of Sweden, besides a great part of Finland. Through the bribery and intrigue of the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh, they had always maintained a strong party at Stockholm; and the bold, intriguing disposition of the Russian minister at that court, presuming on the greatness of the power which he represented, disdained to submit to the ordinary regulations of diplomatic intercourse, but openly sought to establish a party against the reigning monarch. A strong foreign faction was accordingly set up against the King, and to the new government which he had established. Nothing could be more subversive of the views of Russia than the revolution which had brought this about, or that Sweden should ever again recover her rank amongst nations. A nominal king without power or effect, with a nation constantly rent and distracted by jarring factions, best suited the purposes of the Tzarina, whose interference might, in process of time, be required. Dependant kings, as well as dependant princes, were necessary to the glory of Catherine—they were appendages to the splendour, and gratifications to the vanity, of the Imperial Court.

It was expected that the young king, Gustavus, would avail himself of the wisdom, experience, and advice of his imperial ally, the Empress of Russia; but he partook largely of a good opinion of himself, and went boldly on with the affairs of government without seeking any advice or assistance; and the result seemed to prove the wisdom of his decision, for a prompt, firm, and active government succeeded to a formerly wretched state of civil and military affairs, which had so disgraced the Swedish nation. A strict offensive and defensive alliance had for a long time existed between Sweden and the Porte, and the latter now called upon her ally to assist her against the Russians. A good correspondence had been established between the two courts from the time of Charles XII., who experienced the hospitality of the latter in the fortress of Bender. Gustavus now began to make some demonstrations of war on the part of Sweden with Russia. At this time the Russian government was fully occupied with their expected hostilities against the Turks; and, to avoid a war with Sweden, Catherine invited the young King to pay her a visit at St. Petersburgh, where he arrived on the 16th June, 1777.

His Majesty was received with the distinction becoming his rank, and with that grace and courtesy on the part of the Empress which so distinguished the great Tzarina; and the display of sumptuous magnificence at the Imperial Court, seemed greatly to dazzle the young monarch. Catherine made the warmest professions of regard for her illustrious ally, hoping that nothing would interrupt the good understanding between Sweden and Russia now existing; and, in proof of her friendly intentions, she would immediately recall her

obnoxious minister, of whom Gustavus had complained; and he *was* recalled, and temporarily disgraced. A mutual duplicity was kept up by these royal personages, the better to mask their intended conduct; but the astuteness of the Empress was too much for the young Gustavus, who, charmed with her deportment, and laden with presents from the great sovereign of the north, after a short visit left St. Petersburgh. But the object of this visit not being yet perfectly attained by the Tzarina, at her request a second interview took place between the two sovereigns, to ensure the king's neutrality during the war with the Turks. This meeting took place at Fredericksham, a frontier town on the gulf of Finland, where the Empress repaired in a yacht.

Two contiguous houses were fitted up with the greatest elegance, a gallery of communication being constructed between them in such a manner, that from the one occupied by the Empress, and the other by the King, they might freely discourse as often as occasion required. Gustavus promised to comply with all that Catherine required, and the two sovereigns parted seemingly satisfied with each other, both the royal minds being then intent on their different schemes of conquest; those of the Tzarina were more than realized by her splendid successes over the Turks, whilst those of Gustavus, which were intended against his illustrious ally, from whom he had just parted with such friendly professions, were eminently disastrous, as though in some retaliation for his treachery, since he almost immediately after declared war against Russia on the most frivolous pretexts.

Her Majesty immediately published a declaration, complaining of the behaviour of the King of Sweden, and

of the necessity to which he had reduced her of arming against him: she said she had taken every precaution to meet the aggression of Sweden. At the same time, she ordered Baron Nolken, the Swedish ambassador, to quit the empire without delay.

Hostilities were commenced in Finland, in 1790, where the Swedes were generally successful in small actions. The Swedish fleet, consisting of sixteen ships of the line, five large frigates, and several corvettes, arrived within sight of the batteries of Cronstadt, and bade defiance to the Russian armaments. Terror and amazement took possession of every one at St. Petersburgh: the Empress alone retained her usual tranquillity, and gave orders that all the troops that could be made ready, should march into Finland, where the war had then commenced. The King had already set out for Finland; and the fleet was to follow him. The blockade of the port of Cronstadt, was so far an advantage to the Turks, that it prevented the Russian fleet sailing to the Mediterranean.

This fleet, consisting of eighteen sail of the line and a great number of frigates, with some smaller and lighter vessels, was soon equipped for sea: and the command was given to Admiral Greig, a Scotchman, who had already distinguished himself in the battle of Tchesmé. The Russian squadron now put to sea, and the hostile fleets came in sight of each other off the island of Heligoland. The action did not commence till five o'clock in the afternoon; and in two hours, so many ships were disabled on both sides, that they were obliged to lay by and refit. At eight o'clock the battle was renewed, with apparently a fresh accession of courage on both sides. Nothing could exceed the dreadful violence of the action, or the fury and determined obstinacy with which it was main-

tained; the darkness was so great, that the knowledge of each ship was in a great measure confined to its own sphere of action. The victory, as in all cases in actions not absolutely decisive, was claimed by both the Russians and Swedes, as a flag-ship had been taken on each side.

Shortly after, Admiral Greig, having an accession to his ships, put to sea with a greater force than before, and suddenly came upon the Swedes in the road of Strasburg, in Finland, where they could not support the attack in the moment of their consternation and surprise. He attacked the Swedes furiously, who were unable to resist, and the "Gustavus Adolphus," of sixty guns, was taken and burnt by the Russians.

On the 4th July, the fleets again came to action in the narrow channel, or bay of Wiborg; the King himself taking the command of the Swedish squadron. The fight was renewed throughout the whole line with the utmost fury. The darkness of the night put an end to the firing of the Swedes at eleven o'clock. At three in the morning, the Russians renewed the action; and the Swedes at first succeeded in capturing some of the enemy's vessels; but, being driven into the gulf of Wiborg, they were precluded from the means of escape. The Swedes sent out five ships to burn the Russian fleet, some of which, being driven back by the wind, set fire to their own vessels, when nine ships of the line, three frigates, and upwards of twenty galleys, fell into the power of the Russians; and the destruction of the Swedish fleet would have been complete, had the Russians mounted the two batteries commanding the harbour.

This defeat opened the eyes of Gustavus to his real position in the war; in which, so far from having been successful, his marine was nearly destroyed—his finances

were much embarrassed, and his people generally discontented. He began the war without the sanction of the Diet, consequently they would not grant him any subsidies; and Gustavus was constrained to sue for peace, which, through the mediation of Spain, was brought to a conclusion. The victory of the Russian fleet was principally obtained by Admiral Greig; and the importance set upon it by the Empress, was fully shown by a letter which her Majesty wrote to him with her own hand, filled with his praises, and acknowledgments. She further conferred upon him a considerable estate in Livonia; and, at his decease, greater honours were paid to him at his funeral, than had ever been shown to any Russian admiral. Captain James Trevanion, a native of Cornwall, likewise distinguished himself in the action; he carried a commodore's pennant, and, being mortally wounded by the last shot fired by the enemy, he died on the 9th July, 1790.

Since the commencement of hostilities between Russia and Sweden, Captain Trevanion had taken a very active part, and had been honoured with many marks of the Empress's favour; and there is no doubt that, had he lived, he would soon have arrived at the first rank in her service. The origin of his visit to Russia was a plan of discovery, and a proposal which he had drawn up for opening an intercourse between Kamtschatka and Japan, and the northern parts of China; which was laid before the Empress of Russia, and so well approved of by her Majesty, that she immediately sent an officer to invite him over to carry it into execution. To the manly courage, and the open generosity of a British sailor, he united in an eminent degree the education and the manners of a gentleman.

The peace which the King sued for, the Empress was as prompt to grant, insisting upon no other terms than re-establishing the treaties of Abo and Newstadt.*

The plenipotentiaries, General Ingolstrom on the part of Russia, and Baron d'Ampeldt on the part of Sweden, were, without loss of time, appointed to confer and settle terms of peace; they met on the banks of the Kymene, in a large tent prepared for the purpose, between the advanced posts of the hostile camps, on the plains of Werein. The commissioners had not much to settle, and the terms were soon concluded; the principal articles of which were, "The limits and frontiers shall, on each side, remain as they were before the rupture, or at the beginning of the present war; therefore all the countries, provinces, or places whatever, which have been taken by the troops of either of the contracting parties, shall be evacuated as speedily as possible, or in fourteen days after the ratification of the present treaty. Done in the plains of Vercle, near the river Kymene, between the advanced posts of each camp, 11th August, 1790."

When the peace was concluded, the rejoicings at St. Petersburgh were carried to an extreme, far beyond what the event seemed to merit; but it showed what importance the Empress attached to being on friendly terms with Sweden. A grand "Te Deum" was performed in the cathedral, at which the Empress and the Grand Duke came from their country palace to be present, with the other members of the imperial family, the whole

* When Gustavus, in 1788, made some insulting proposals to Catherine, she said, "Were the King of Sweden at Moscow, I would show him what a woman could do, standing on the ruins of a mighty empire." Thus in all undertakings, whether forced or voluntary, did this great sovereign of the north find continued and brilliant successes.

court being for one day and night brilliant with a galaxy of splendour, whilst the capital was shining with illuminations, and echoing with acclamations of joy. The munificence with which the Empress rewarded the negotiators on both sides, testified how much she felt herself interested in the event.

The war with the Porte was still carried on with the greatest obstinacy; and the latter, in order to propitiate her enemy, came to the resolution of releasing the Russian minister, Monsieur de Bulgakoff, from the castle of the Seven Towers, and likewise the Russian subjects that had been detained; when the ambassador, with his family and suite, departed for Leghorn. The situation of the Ottomans, after the fall of Otzakoff, seemed almost desperate; to this fatal blow was added the slaughter of many thousands of their brave troops, and the Russians were now advancing into the very heart of their dominions, both on the side of the Black Sea and on their Danubian provinces. Thus they opened the campaign again under the greatest disadvantages; their misfortunes seemed to crush a destined Empire, and that they were to become the victims of the Russians, to whom, as fatalists, such an opinion was sufficient to annihilate their energies.

Prince Potemkin passed the Kuban with three columns to attack the enemy, who were strongly intrenched on the other side, but were soon put to flight with great loss. The Russians made themselves masters of the intrenchments, and then marched upon the villages of the Kuban, occupied by Tartars, who made a desperate resistance for seven hours; but the Russians completely routed them, and took a great number of prisoners. The booty consisted principally of cattle, which brought a

good store of provisions to the Russian camp. The Grand Vizier had boldly pledged himself to the Sultan for the recovery of Otzakoff, and made many preparations and movements towards carrying it into effect; but a scarcity of provisions distressed his army: this, with the watchful eye of the Russians upon all his motions, so overwhelmed him with difficulties, that he was obliged to abandon the attempt, and he soon perceived that even the preservation of Bender was not within the compass of his power. The Russian forces had now overrun Bessarabia, and the army advanced against Polafka, when the battle of Kauschan was fought in September, 1789. Part of the Russian forces advanced against Polafka and Akerman, the remainder formed the blockade of Bender, where all the inhabitants of the small town of Kauschan, who had been able to escape the pikes of the Cossacs, had taken refuge. During this blockade, which lasted five weeks, Kauschan and all the neighbouring villages were entirely destroyed and burnt by the Cossacs. Winter came on this year rather earlier than usual; there fell suddenly a great quantity of snow, accompanied by hurricanes, the more formidable as these immense plains were open to all winds, and destitute of shelter. Bender and Akerman had just surrendered, and these two places secured Bessarabia as far as the mouth of the river. The following campaign was to be opened by the siege of Kelia and Ismail, the only fortresses remaining to the Turks between the Black Sea and the Pruth.

About the middle of November, all the troops began marching, to gain their winter quarters, across immense steppes, among drifts of snow accumulated or thrown up by whirlwinds. The soldiers supported with resignation

the hunger, the cold, and the fatigues of these laborious marches; in the hope of compensation by a long repose: what then was the despair of the army, when, in lieu of the habitations which had been mentioned to them for cantonments, they found nothing but deserted remains of houses and ruins! The Russian general, Pister, had consulted the map constructed during preceding wars, and imagined that, as the names still continued on the map, the places must also be in being; but they had been utterly destroyed by their own troops, and the Cossacs had made total annihilation of them. This culpable oversight was attended with fatal consequences. Companies, whole battalions, were forced to turn back and seek for themselves an asylum against the rigour of the cold; all discipline ceased, the soldiers dispersed. A great many lodged and heaped themselves by main force in the habitations which had been assigned to their more fortunate comrades. Huts, scarcely sufficient to contain from ten to fifteen men, were seen to receive a hundred, all equally destitute of provisions. Brigades, battalions, companies—all were confounded; thence resulted new rapine, new conflagrations, which the officers had neither the will nor the power to prevent. These horrible disasters lasted a fortnight, and produced a considerable loss of men and horses; of the stores and baggage, it was necessary to make a new distribution.

The troops cantoned for the winter in the precincts of Bender and Akerman, were to give up their quarters to those who were wandering in the snows of the desert; but those in towns being already over full, and whose extensive suburbs had likewise been destroyed, could not accommodate so many people. A great part of this nearly ruined and suffering army were compelled to

recross the Pruth and regain Moldavia, in order to avoid total destruction. The columns which took the roads to Yassy, found them a little beaten; others were obliged to make their way through heaps of snow, across the uninhabited regions which separate the Pruth from the Dniester. It was the end of December before they arrived in their new quarters, after painful marches and counter-marches. It is impossible to form an idea of the sufferings and distress the soldiers had to endure; they were completely destitute. As none of these inconveniences had been foreseen, they neither found in their route provisions, nor forage, nor wood, nor shelter against the winter storms. The roads were strewed with horses, abandoned or dead; their number exceeded two thousand, and that in a country where there was but one vast meadow.

On the road from Kischnoff to Yassy, precautions had been taken to pile up, at certain distances, enormous stacks of hay, destined for the cavalry. The Cossacs got the start of it, when every thing disappeared, and the cavalry found nothing. As for the loss of men, the number was never known, but it must have been immense, since this victorious army, which had just snatched two important places from the enemy without having experienced any loss, returned in a more ruinous condition, and in greater disorder into Moldavia, than if it had been put to flight and pursued by a victorious enemy.

Potemkin was informed of these disasters; but the mischief was done, and General Pister got out of the scrape without any disgrace on his part. The Prince, however, ordered that General Kaminsky, who had caused these countries to be ravaged, should have no other winter quarters than the villages burnt by his

troops. This general was perhaps the most savage of all the Russian commanders; he was so cruel that Potemkin could not leave him in command of the army; he consigned every place he took to plunder, and then burnt it; his rage was particularly directed against priests, whom he would harness to the waggons of the army instead of horses. The Jews were also the objects of his fury; he destroyed them, by stripping them naked in the cold of winter, and then ordering cold water to be poured on their heads.

The principal army of the Turks, under the command of the Grand Vizier, in Bessarabia, amounting to nearly a hundred thousand men, was attacked by the combined Russian and Austrian forces, not equal to half that amount, and was totally defeated and dispersed. About five thousand were killed on the spot, and two thousand in the pursuit; but defeats were now become so common to the Ottomans, as to be no longer a surprise to either Turks or Russians. The whole camp, including the Grand Vizier's tents and equipage, became a prey to the victors, with five thousand loaded waggons, eight thousand tents, and an immense quantity of ammunition and stores, with a hundred standards and sixty-four field-pieces. A few hundred men, killed and wounded, was the total loss of the victors.

We will now refer to the affairs of Greece, which occupied much of the Empress's attention, and, in consequence of the extreme severity with which the Greeks had been treated by the Turks after the last war, Catherine had reason to imagine that they were eager for revenge; accordingly, she caused manifestoes to be dispersed in all the islands, inviting the people to take up arms against the enemies of the Cross, and to re-

conquer their country, and to restore its pristine independence.*

This warmly excited the Greeks, and they raised funds amongst themselves to fit out twelve small vessels from Trieste, at which Constantinople was filled with consternation; and orders were immediately given to stop the progress of the little armament.

A deputation of the Greeks went to St. Petersburgh, to present an address to her Imperial Majesty, which was very long, in which they said, "Deign, O great Empress! thou glory of the Grecian faith—deign to receive our memorial. Heaven has reserved our deliverance to the glorious reign of your Imperial Majesty. It is under your auspices that we hope to deliver, from the hands of the cruel Mahomedans, our empire, which they have usurped; our patriarchate and our holy religion, which they have profaned.

"We are not persons who have dared to impose on the most magnanimous of sovereigns. We are the deputies of the people of Greece, furnished with full powers and other documents; and, as such, lie prostrate before the throne of her, whom, next to God, we look to as our saviour, declaring that we shall do so to our latest breath."

The deputies were received very graciously, and the succour which they requested was promised from the presence-chamber; they were then conducted to the apartments of the Grand Dukes, Alexander and Constantine. They explained to the latter the object of their mission, and offered him their homage, to which the prince answered in their language, "Go, and let these things be according to your wishes."

* Tooke.

An extraordinary event now happened in Sweden, which seemed to favour the ambitious designs of the Tzarina, viz., the assassination of Gustavus III., at Stockholm, by Ankerstrom, a captain in the army, on the 16th March, 1791. An anonymous letter had been sent to the King as he was preparing to attend a masquerade at the opera-house, of which the following is a copy—"Sire, deign to listen to the advice of a man who, neither being attached to your service nor desirous of your favour, flatters not your crimes, but is desirous of averting the danger with which your life is threatened. Be assured that a plot is formed to assassinate you; those who have entered into it are furious at being foiled last week, by the balls being countermanded. They have resolved to execute their scheme this day; remain at home, avoid balls during the present year; thus the fanaticism of criminality would be suffered to evaporate. Avoid the road to Haga, (the King's country residence.) In fine, be upon your guard, at least for a month. Do not endeavour to discover the author of this letter; the damnable project against your life is come to his knowledge by accident. Be assured, however, that he has not any interest whatever in forewarning you of your intended fate. If your mercenary troops had made use of any violence at Geffe, the author of this letter would have fought against you sword in hand; but he detests assassination."

The King, on reading the letter, was observed to turn pale, but he affected contempt for it, and considered it an insult to his courage to attempt to deter him from enjoying his evening's amusement. It was late before he entered the ball-room, where he mingled amongst the crowd without apprehension; he was soon surrounded by

several persons in masks, one of whom fired a pistol at the back of the King, and lodged the contents in his body; a scene of dreadful confusion immediately ensued. The conspirators had time to retire to another part of the room; but one of them dropped the pistol and a dagger close by the wounded King. A general order was given for the company to unmask, the doors were closed, but no person appeared with any distinguishing mark of guilt. The King was immediately conveyed to his apartment, and the surgeon, after extracting a ball and some slugs, gave favourable hopes of his Majesty's recovery. The 17th was a day of apprehension and terror; the Swedish guards were all under arms. Patroles and pickets traversed the streets both day and night, and all the houses were to be closed by eight o'clock in the evening. The fatal pistol led to the detection of the assassin; it was recognised by a gunsmith, who repaired it some time since for a nobleman named Ankerstrom, a Captain in the Army, and the anonymous letter was traced to Major Liljehorn, of the King's Guards; they were both immediately apprehended.

Ankerstrom confessed, with an air of manifest triumph, that he was the person who had endeavoured to liberate his country from a monster and a tyrant. After a very fair and ample trial, he was condemned to be publicly and severely whipped on three successive days, his right hand and his head to be cut off, and his body to be impaled, which sentence he suffered on the 17th May, long after the King's death. Four of the other conspirators were beheaded, and some officers disgraced; the King languished from the 17th to the 29th March. On opening his body, a square piece of lead with two rusty nails were found within the ribs. During his ill-

ness he showed the same unshaken energy, and a few hours before his death he regulated public affairs, by appointing the Duke of Sudermania sole regent until his son should have attained the age of eighteen years, who was immediately proclaimed by the title of Gustavus IV.

It was late in October, 1791, that the Russian armies, under Prince Potemkin and General Suwarrow, began to be in motion. Ismailow on the Danube, with the strong fortress of Ibraihlow, would complete the conquest of Wallachia; and General Romanzoff, carrying fire and sword into the heart of the Ottoman empire, would compel the Porte to accept such terms as would gratify the pride of the Empress, by accepting such a peace as she may be pleased to grant, without the mediation or intervention of any other power. Every circumstance seemed to favour their designs—the army of the Grand Vizier was so miserably reduced as to be estimated at only 48,000 men; which was occasioned by the desertion of those of his troops who had been accustomed to live in ease and luxury, unused to the hardships of war, and dreading, beyond all things, the severities of the winter season; nor could their commander, with the great power which he possessed, restrain them either by threats or by rewards.

Ismailow had long since been rendered a place of considerable strength, according to the Turkish ideas and knowledge of fortifications, and, being considered to be the key of the Lower Danube, the works had been lately strengthened under the superintendence of a Spanish engineer. But the season menaced danger; the Grand Vizier, therefore, in person reinforced it with 13,000 choice troops, so that Ismailow might have been truly said to contain the flower of the Turkish army; the

artillery was committed to the control and management of European engineers, the chief of whom was said to be an Englishman, who perished with the rest in the general destruction. General Suwarrow, with the army which he commanded, was appointed to the arduous task of reducing this very strong fortress, an attempt which, at this time of the year, was rendered much more arduous and almost impracticable; but Suwarrow dealt chiefly with impossibilities.

Ismailow, stretching half a mile along the banks of the Danube, had eight bastions with very high ramparts and horizontal batteries, on which were mounted 232 pieces of artillery. Rear-Admiral Ribas commanded the flotilla on the Danube, where he had already gained several advantages over the Turks, and taken Tuleisi by escalade; he was continually cannonading the place, and the remains of the Turkish flotilla made but a feeble resistance to his fire. The Seraskier, Abdallah Pasha, had the command of the troops in Ismailow, which consisted of 43,000 men, nearly half of whom were janissaries, and 8000 cavalry. On the 9th December, Suwarrow sent a letter from Prince Potemkin to the Seraskier, to which he added a few lines from himself, to induce him to surrender; and the next day an officer, who spoke the Turkish language tolerably well, was sent into the town and had an interview with the Seraskier, who replied in the Oriental style, "The Danube would cease to flow, or the heavens bow down to the earth, before Ismailow would surrender to the Russians!" Suwarrow, however, determined to make one more effort for negotiation, and sent a note to the Seraskier, in which he gave him his word of honour, "That unless he hung out the white flag that very day, the place

should be taken by assault, and all the garrison put to the sword." The Russian General, on that day, summoned a council of war, where the subalterns voted first. He addressed them, as he did afterwards all the officers assembled, in a very manly and energetic manner, and having pointed out to them the difficulties of the enterprise, and the means of surmounting them, he added, "Brave warriors, remember this day all your former victories, and continue to prove that nothing can resist the force of the Russian arms. We are not deliberating on an operation which may be deferred to a future time, but on taking a place of importance, the possession of which will decide the fate of our campaign, and which the haughty Ottomans believe impregnable; twice has the Russian army laid seige to Ismailow, and twice it has retreated from it—this third time, nothing remains for us but to conquer or to die with glory." With this speech was the siege of Ismailow agreed to and decided upon.

Suwarrow now received a despatch from Prince Potemkin, representing that, if he was not certain of success, it were better not to risk the assault; to which he replied in a few words, "My plan is fixed—the Russian army has been already twice at the gates of Ismailow, and it would be shameful for them to retreat from them a third time without entering the place." At three in the morning of Christmas day, 1790, the first musket was fired, which was the signal to prepare for the assault, the second was fired at five, which was the signal to form. Suwarrow had previously surrounded the fortress with batteries constructed on every spot of ground, on which forges were built for heating balls; on these batteries he planted the heaviest artillery and mortars, with every machinery that could be devised for

the destruction of the place. The Russian cavalry, of all denominations, were compelled to dismount and to take an equal share with the infantry in the assault, when this tremendous artillery poured such showers of hot balls, bombs, and carcasses, into every part of the town and works as afforded a terrible specimen of the horrors that were to come. The Russian troops advanced in six columns of the land troops and three columns of the fleet; the whole were directed by the General-in-Chief, Suwarrow, who had placed himself in the centre with a part of the Staff, between the columns, in order to see every thing, and to give his orders with facility. The columns marched against the town in the best order and in the greatest silence. The Turks did not fire a gun until the Russians were within three or four hundred paces of the town, when they were saluted with a very quick fire of case shot, which did great mischief. The Russians now approached the deep moat, where the water was in some places up to their shoulders; they threw their fascines into it and passed over. They then raised scaling-ladders against the ramparts, some parts of which were so high that they were obliged to fasten two ladders together; and in many places where the besiegers could not do this with sufficient expedition, they assisted each other, and with equal alertness and address climbed to the top of the ramparts by means of their bayonets. The Russian troops performed wonders, though in consequence of this inconsiderate attack they greatly suffered; and the Turks, by a sally of eight or ten thousand men, accompanied by women armed with poignards, made great havoc amongst them. At length, however, reinforcements arrived—the enemy was driven back, and the Russians possessed themselves of the first

bastion, but as every bastion had a magazine of powder under it, a strong guard was immediately placed to prevent the troops being blown into the air.

Suwarrow was said to have been obliged to exhibit an extraordinary act of desperate valour in his own person, in order to animate his troops and to prevent their retreating; he snatched a standard, and, running up a Turkish battery, planted it with his own hands on the top, calling out to the troops, and asking them whether they would suffer the disgrace to fall upon their country, of its standard being pulled down by the infidels. The action was then renewed with redoubled fury, each side being fully determined to conquer or to die, and the bastion was gained only after a long and dreadful conflict. The action then seemed to be more obstinate and doubtful than it had yet been, the Turks straining every nerve to recover what they had lost, all thoughts of personal preservation being totally dismissed. The Russians, however, being reinforced by fresh troops, and the Ottomans wearied and worn down by the continued action of the besieged, were at length beaten back to the defence of the second parapet.

The superiority of the assailants now became apparent, and as it invigorated their courage and animated their spirits, it equally depressed the hope and the exertions of the enemy; the second and third bastions, after a long course and succession of the most bloody conflicts which it is said were ever fought, or any where recorded in the annals of history, were at length carried; daylight now began to appear, but during the night the advantages gained on either side were known only by the exclamations of "Hurrah" on the part of the Russians, and "Allah!" on that of the Turks.

At eight o'clock the Russians were masters of the place on the side of the water, as well as on that of the land—the assault was then at an end, and the contest commenced in the interior of the town, in the streets, and in the public squares, nor was there an open spot where men could engage that was not the scene of combat. The Turks displayed the most desperate courage, and availed themselves of the windows and every loop-hole to fire upon the invaders. The unfortunate Seraskier, having retired into one of the Khans with two thousand of the flower of his janissaries, and several pieces of cannon, thought himself secure from all danger, but nothing was impregnable to the daring of Suwarrow, and the dauntless intrepidity of his soldiers. The Turks at length found all resistance vain, and therefore surrendered to the Russians. The Seraskier wore a rich poignard in his girdle; a chasseur, eager after plunder, endeavoured to seize it, when a janissary stood forth as the protector of his fallen master—the Russians immediately fell upon their prisoners, and massacred the greatest part, the Seraskier amongst them.

The streets of Ismailow being in general very narrow, Suwarrow did not suffer the cavalry to enter the town; the land troops, therefore, as well as those which had disembarked from the ships, penetrated by degrees to the centre of it, combating, as they proceeded, with small bodies of Turks, who defended themselves with the utmost bravery, and retreated only step by step.

At two in the afternoon the land troops and the marines occupied the centre of the town, upon which the Russian general caused four companies of carabineers, four squadrons of hussars, and ten regiments of Cossacs, to enter at the two wings of the gates by Brock

and Bender, in order to clear the streets, in which a few of the enemy might still remain—in their way they cut down several Turks, who still possessed the desperate rashness and folly to defend themselves, but they gave quarter to all those who surrendered.

After a bloody assault, of which history affords no example, the victory of the Russians was complete, and they were absolutely masters of Ismailow at four o'clock. The terrible defence made by so many thousand Turks in their rage and fury was assisted even by women, who fell upon the Russian soldiers with poignards and other weapons. The Russian commanders met danger with the most heroic valour—the soldiers fought like lions—they seemed all inspired with the courage of their great commander; but their courage degenerated into savage brutality when the streets were deluged with blood, and the squares filled with the dead bodies; and the ferocious victors, instead of being filled with admiration or respect by the noble defence of the brave garrison, were so enraged at the great slaughter of their countrymen, that no bounds could be prescribed to the excess of their fury, nor did it seem that any amount of destruction, or any quantity of human blood, could satiate their fury; the undistinguished carnage which then took place, was rendered more dreadful by the continued heavy firing, the darkness of the night, the groans of the dying, and lamentable shrieks of the women and children.

All order and command seemed to have been entirely at an end during the horrors of that dreadful scene, and it is said that the officers could neither restrain the slaughter, nor prevent the public plunder made by the lawless and ferocious soldiery. It is likewise said, that thousands of Turks, incapable of enduring the sight of

these horrid scenes of destruction, rushed desperately upon the bayonets of the enemy, in order to shorten their misery, whilst those who could reach the Danube threw themselves headlong into the river.

The streets and passages were so choked by the heaps of dead and dying bodies which lay in them, as considerably to impede the progress of the victors in search of plunder. The following day, the rising sun exhibited such a spectacle in Ismailow, as had never before shocked the eyes and feelings of the beholders; it was calculated that about 24,000 of the Turkish soldiery perished from first to last in this bloody contest, including those who threw themselves into the Danube: no quarter was demanded, nor would the demand have been listened to. Among those who fell, were many of the bravest, the most renowned, and experienced commanders of the Turkish army.

Six or seven Tartar princes of the illustrious house of Gherai perished with the rest; the Russian generals put a stop to the carnage as soon as possible, by which a few Turkish prisoners were preserved as melancholy recorders and witnesses of the destruction which they had beheld, and of the superior prowess of the victors. The body of the brave Seraskier was found and recognised, although nearly cut in pieces. In one dreadful day, the Ottomans lost by the superiority of the Russian arms, although their numbers were far inferior, 33,000 men killed or dangerously wounded, and about 10,000 officers and soldiers were taken prisoners, among whom were 200 Tartars, 6000 women and children, 2000 Christians of Moldavia and Armenia, and above 500 Jews must be added to this number. On the part of the Russians, the loss, according to the official reports, amounted

to 1830 killed, and 2500 wounded. Although it was now the dead of winter, it became indispensably necessary to take precautions to prevent this unexampled heap of dead bodies from occasioning epidemic disorder, more particularly the plague; hence the Turkish prisoners were immediately employed in carrying off the bodies of their countrymen and of their horses, and, as pits could not be dug quick enough on account of the earth being frozen, they were thrown into the Danube, and the whole business was completed in the course of six days. The Russians attended to interring their own dead, which was done according to the custom of their church. The riches found at Ismailow were estimated at ten millions of piastres.

When the calm of victory had succeeded to the fury of battle, Suwarrow informed Prince Potemkin of his great successes by the following laconic bulletin—"The Russian colours wave over the ramparts of Ismailow."

The prince was at that time at Bender, where the cannonading was distinctly heard.

Suwarrow, the greatest general which Russia ever produced, though daring in courage, was ferocious in character. He seems to have had his mind heated by the annals of those ravagers and destroyers of his countrymen, Timour and Genghis Khan, who have formerly appeared in our pages of this history,*—commanders who, so prodigal were they of the lives of their troops, seemed rather to be the destroyers of mankind, rendering their dead bodies almost as useful as when they were living, applying them to the purposes of filling up ditches and forming ramparts for the scaling of walls; since Suwarrow, however great his losses, disdained to lose

* See First Vol. p. 63.

time, but poured over the dead innumerable hordes of fresh men in succession, and, as these dropped and were killed, they served to fill the ditches for an easier ascent of the succeeding troops; thus the assault was carried by a continual application of mere brutal force, sacrificing them as human rubbish, to accomplish his conquest of the strong fortress of Ismailow. The trophies taken were sent to St. Petersburgh, with this pithy despatch addressed by her general to the Empress, "The haughty Ismailow lies at the feet of your Majesty."

Catherine, elated on hearing of these successive victories, when Sir Charles Whitworth appeared the next time at Court, said to him, with an unusual smile, "Sir, since the King, your master, is determined to drive me out of St. Petersburgh, I hope he will permit me to retire to Constantinople."

Suwarrow, on his arrival at St. Petersburgh, was honoured with the most distinguished marks of her Majesty's favour, to whom the Empress said, on receiving him, "You have made me a present of a seaport town." Gold and silver medals were struck to commemorate the taking of Ismailow. He was appointed Colonel of the Probajinski Guards, and was presented with a sword enriched with diamonds. The order of St. Andrew, decorated with diamonds, was likewise presented to him. These presents alone were estimated to cost 60,000 roubles.

After the capture of Ismailow, the Russians, under the princes Repnin and Galitzin, and other generals, crossed the Danube, and continually routed the Turks wherever they could find them; the great object in view was to compel them to sue for grace to the Empress. The grand vizier, with his dispirited and broken-hearted

army, retired for shelter to the fastnesses of the ancient Mount Henius. A considerable action was some time after fought by Prince Repnin on the Bulgarian side of the Danube; the Turkish cavalry were thrown into disorder by the Russian artillery, and routed before the infantry could come up to their support; this misfortune occasioned such a panic as ended in a general rout of the whole Turkish army.

It was about this time that an obstinate and hard fought conflict took place at the town of Anapa, on the borders of Circassia, in Asia. The Turks intrenched themselves strongly in a fortified camp for its protection; their force was estimated at 25,000 men, including Circassians and Tartars. The Russian general Godowitch attacked them at eight o'clock in the morning, and after a most desperate and bloody engagement, which lasted for five hours, he succeeded in storming the camp and the town, although every foot of ground was obstinately disputed; the slaughter was very great, and a vast number of Turks, including the commander, were made prisoners, with several general officers.*

Suwarrow, the great Russian general of the age, became the dread and terror of all around him; even by his own soldiers he was the most feared of any, since his warfare was ferocious and his revenge pitiless. The fortress of Bender surrendered at discretion; Bohada was stormed; and at Katzim, Prince Repnin defeated 10,000 Turks.

The Russians now menaced Varna, and had opened their way to Adrianople—the whole Turkish empire seemed to lie prostrate before them. To all these splendid successes of the Russians, the Germans had contri-

* Tooke.

buted but little; the generals of the two forces were jealous of each other as to their respective commands.

The war had by this time cost a great number of men to the victors as well as to the vanquished; but the Empress was no less ardent in continuing it. A fresh levy of recruits was ordered throughout her vast dominions; but the men began to be scarce; even the wilds of Siberia were ransacked for exiles to recruit the army. A hundred and fifty thousand men were marched to the confines of Poland and Turkey, the provisions for whom were so scarce, that even forage was obliged to be brought from a great distance.

Prince Potemkin ruled every thing. Not only the army, but the whole of the Russian empire, was at his command; and he seemed more than to share the sovereignty of the Empress, who, it was thought, contemplated seizing the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, and erecting them into a kingdom for her great general, whose influence spread alarm through the court and amongst the principal nobility. But the grand scheme of the Tzarina was to drive the Turks out of Europe, and to place her grandson Constantine on the ancient throne of the Greek Emperors. This was the most congenial to her daring mind and vaulting ambition. She considered the Turks themselves but as invaders of that fairest portion of the world, which she coveted, whereon to establish her dynasty.

The Empress earnestly solicited the ambassador of France to engage his court to assist her in the dismemberment of the Turkish empire, in return for which service she offered to cede to France the possession of Egypt, of the conquest of which she thought herself secure. But the ambassador was not lured by this spe-

cious bait; and he thought it would be more for the advantage of France to prevent the destruction of the Turks, with whom she was engaged in a more safe and lucrative commerce. Besides, what right had Catherine to reckon on the submission of Egypt?

The allied powers now interposed, offering to mediate a peace beween the Ottomans and the great sovereign of the north, by whom it was received with the utmost disdain. The cabinet of St. Petersburgh replied:—

"The Empress makes war and makes peace when she pleases, without consulting any other powers. She is not to be dictated to: she will never permit any interference in the management or government of her affairs."*

Such was the general tone of the official language of the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh, which approached more nearly to the insulting than to the conciliatory or friendly. Should Catherine's grand scheme fail, which was, at that time, uppermost with her—that of driving the Turks out of Europe, and placing her grandson on the throne of Constantinople; the next was, to erect the Bessarabian and the two Danubian provinces into a kingdom for her favourite, Potemkin. But the great and constant opposition which the Empress met with from her allies, induced this scheme to be abandoned, instead of which her Majesty appointed him Hetman of the Cossacs, which carried with it some semblance of sovereignty, such as had never before been set up since the days of Mazeppa; but with respect to the Krimea, the Black Sea, and all her other claims, Catherine persevered with an obstinacy which had nearly involved her in a war with Great Britain and Prussia. If that event had taken place, there is no

* Tooke.

doubt but that Sweden would have joined the alliance, and that Gustavus, supported by the British fleet and the Prussian armies, would have been able to carry fire and sword into the heart of the Russian empire, and have possibly produced one of those extraordinary revolutions for which the government had been so remarkable. Catherine contrived to divide the allies, and thus, by her policy and address, to avert the most formidable coalition which had yet been formed against the Russian empire.

In consequence of the death of the Emperor Joseph, on the 20th February, 1790, the Austrians concluded a peace with the Porte, and the treaty of Szistowa was signed on the 4th August, 1791, after which Russia had to continue the contest with the Turks alone.

The last victory of the Russians at Ismailow, where the courage and cruelty of the victors exceeded any thing that had ever been known in modern warfare, so dispirited the Turks that they were obliged to sue for peace; the distresses of the Porte were so great, and the dangers with which the empire was overwhelmed, when the capital itself was threatened by the invaders, were so alarming, that the Grand Vizier implored for terms, and was obliged to accept such as the Empress was pleased to dictate; and a treaty was concluded by Count Besberaldo at Jassy, on the 9th January, 1792, by which Russia retained the whole of the country which had been conceded to her in 1787, of the Bog, the Dnieper, and likewise the free navigation of the Euxine.

The rest of the conquests were restored, with the exception of the fortress of Otzakoff. The Porte agreed to pay twelve millions of piastres as some indemnification for the expenses of the war, which the Empress had after-

wards the liberality to remit. Thus ended the last war in which the Tzarina was engaged with the Ottoman Porte, by the combined forces of Austria and Russia, which was said to have cost the Turks 330,000 men, and two hundred and fifty millions of piastres. Russia is supposed to have lost 200,000 men, and to have expended two hundred millions of roubles; whilst Austria lost 130,000 men, and expended three hundred millions of florins. Such were the results of this costly game of war, from which all retired exhausted, nor in any way benefited.

The haughty independence which the Empress maintained throughout the war, was strongly marked in her behaviour to the British government, by whom Mr. Faulkner was sent out as envoy extraordinary, to assist in the negotiation for peace; but her Majesty would admit of no foreign interference. Whenever the British minister appeared at court, the Empress made a point of slighting him; he was to have no influence whatever on the terms of the treaty of Jassy, although her Majesty at the conclusion of the peace made him some magnificent presents.

The Empress determined to give a splendid reception at Moscow to her brave general, Romanzoff, for which purpose great preparations were made, but the General declined the honours of a triumphal entry into the city; however, he was received by Catherine with every possible mark of distinction. On the morning of his arrival, her Majesty, accompanied by the Grand Duke and Duchess, and attended by the great officers and ladies of the court, the knights being in the habits of their respective orders, walked in grand procession from the old palace in the Kremlin to the cathedral, where solemn mass

was performed by the Archbishop of St. Petersburgh, and "Te Deum" was sung for the conclusion of the war, after which the first five classes of nobility had the honour of kissing her Majesty's hand.

The keeper of the privy purse then read aloud a list of the gratifications and records which the Empress was pleased to bestow on the occasion; amongst the principal ones were,—To Marshal Romanzoff an estate of 5,000 peasants, 100,000 roubles in money, a service of plate, a hat with a wreath of laurel, enriched with precious stones to the value of thirty thousand roubles; a diamond star and a shoulder knot, a marshal's staff, and a diploma adding to his name that of Sadouvinskoi, which may be translated the *ultra-Danubian;*—to Count Alexis Orloff were awarded sixty-thousand roubles, a sword enriched with diamonds of very considerable value, and a diploma granting him the name of Tchesminski;—to General Potemkin, a diploma of Count of the Russian empire, and her imperial Majesty's picture set with diamonds, to be worn by him;—to General Panin and Prince Dolgerouky, sixty thousand roubles each, with a sword and diamond star;—to Count Soltikoff, the second order of St. George;—and to Count Ivan Czermechew, the order of St. Andrew;—Admiral Greig was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral, and appointed Governor of Cronstadt. Next day the Grand Duke bestowed eleven ribbons of the order of St. Anne; large gold medals struck on this occasion were likewise distributed to the Field-marshals, Generals-in-chief, and foreign Ministers, and some of a smaller size to the rest of the nobility of the first five classes; her imperial Majesty was likewise pleased to recall from their banishment in Siberia, several exiles who had resided there for many years.

To turn now from the horrors of war, in which Russia had been so long engaged, it may be observed that Russian barbarism had totally disappeared at the Court of her imperial Majesty, where the most refined customs of Europe were introduced, and where foreigners crowded to offer their homage to the great Empress Catherine, who found time even to engage in correspondence with literary men of France, including Voltaire and Diderot; the latter paid a visit to the Tzarina at St. Petersburgh, and held conversations on philosophy, legislation, and politics with her Majesty, who lavished on the philosopher not only encomiums but largesses of regal munificence.

Whilst this great Semiramis of the north was making such gigantic strides of foreign conquest and home civilisation, guided solely by herself, and she the ruler of a semi-barbarous people; it was astonishing to see how the great and powerful mind of the Tzarina could descend even to the minute affairs of the nursery of her grandchildren, for on the same day that she added a kingdom to her crown, she would write with her own pen, "miscellaneous pieces for the library of her grandchildren," and attend personally to their studies. The Empress understood and directed what it was proper for them to learn, and took pains to see that they were taught it well. The tale of the "Tzarovitch Chalu" was said to have been written by the Empress, without borrowing from the fables of others.

Voltaire complimented her imperial Majesty on the composition of the comedies attributed to her pen, which evinced considerable literary talent; one of them, called the "Impostor," was a satire upon the notions of animal magnetism, the power of raising the dead, and

of the philosopher's stone, which was much lauded by her court, who paid to their sovereign all honours, not only as patronising the drama, but enlivening it by her own genius. Another comedy was got up by the Tzarina, called "Oleg," tending to flatter the national feeling, and to stimulate the Russians to the possession of Constantinople; it is founded on the adventures of "Oleg," which will be found in an early part of the history of the "Sovereigns of Russia." * The performance shews his march towards that city, and the drift of it is, to stimulate the people to follow his example. It was acted with extraordinary magnificence at the conclusion of the last peace with Turkey, when no less than seven hundred persons were engaged in the representation, and the scenic effect in point of pomp and ingenuity was deemed to be quite equal to that of the French stage.

Oleg and his army march in military procession; they conquer the Greeks, and the Emperor is obliged to accept the terms of the victor; the Russians are discerned at table regaling themselves with the luxuries of the East, and revelling in oriental magnificence, whilst their victories are being celebrated by olympic games and other festivities; the Emperor presents gifts to the victorious Regent, who rises to depart, but first hangs up his shield to one of the pillars of the building, as a suggestion to his successors to follow his example. The performance was received with enthusiasm by the audience, and thus the spirit of ambition was kept alive for the conquest of Constantinople, which the Empress was so desirous to foster amongst her subjects. From the monster cares of an empire, from its conquests without

* *See* First Vol. p.12.

and its treasons within, literary composition was a wonderful transition of the great mind of Catherine, who could abstract it sufficiently to revel in pleasantries, and who could forget her cares to enjoy the pastime of scenic representations; but, by a wise distribution of her time, this great Sovereign found leisure for every thing.

It is noticeable that the Empress had no taste for music, and had such an aversion to the noise of the orchestra, that they were not allowed to perform while she was in the theatre—indeed it may be said that she regarded music with a sort of aversion.

But amidst all this variety of occupation of the Tzarina, the vigilance of her rule over her subjects was never relaxed, which was manifested by an ukase published May 4th, "forbidding any person speaking on the subject of religion, politics, state affairs, of peace or war, or any theory but what regards their own profession; and those who act contrary to this law are threatened with the wrath of heaven, and the indignation of her imperial Majesty;" this ordinance was renewed from one published on the same subject by the Empress Elizabeth, and from a previous one issued by Catherine, in 1766.

The progress of the revolution in France had long arrested the attention of the Empress Catherine with a watchful jealousy, lest its principles should in any way reach her own territories. There was less to apprehend, perhaps, of their taking root amongst a people so ignorant and so uncivilized as were the greater part of her subjects of Russia; but she was not insensible to its dangers, and she issued an edict ordering all the French of both sexes, without any exception, to quit the empire. All intercourse with France was suspended—such as the

prohibition of French vessels entering any of the ports of Russia, and the introduction of any French books, journals, or periodicals whatsoever—forbidding all Russian subjects from travelling in France, or holding intercourse with that country; and, in a manifesto issued by the Empress, she thus alluded to the murder of the French king:—"We think ourselves bound by God and our conscience, until the justice of the Most High shall have confounded the authors of so horrible a crime, and it shall have pleased His holy will to terminate the calamities by which France is now afflicted, not to permit, between our empire and that kingdom, any of the relations which exist between civilized and legitimately constituted states." Catherine stimulated the king of Sweden to take an open part against France. Gustavus, who had an unbounded ardour for military glory, and felt a real commiseration for the fate of the unhappy Louis, entered with avidity into the scheme.

The Tzarina, accustomed to domineer over Europe, piqued herself, from the time of Frederick the Great, on taking the lead in all political events; hence she inspired Gustavus with the love of that terrible crusade, which was to subjugate and punish France, the odious rival of her glory and power, in incessantly opposing her vast projects in the East. She now took into her pay all the French emigrants, who came to envenom her hatred against their countrymen; and she forced those in Russia to take an oath of hatred against their country. Catherine had never been partial to France. The new principles of the revolution made a direct attack on despotic power; hence, to no government did they occasion so much alarm, though so far distant; democratic principles being not only incompatible with the principles of mo-

narchy, but totally subversive of those of an arbitrary government. Catherine was too politic to take an active part in the war; but by her threats, promises, and influence, she prevailed on some of the petty sovereigns to enter heartily into the quarrel, more particularly Gustavus. Early in the summer of 1791, a plan was devised between the two sovereigns, which was postponed, with the hope of some additional assistance, to the end of the year. The following is said to have been the proposed plan: Gustavus, at the head of thirty-six thousand Swedes and Russians, was to have landed as near as possible to Paris, for the purpose of marching directly to the capital, and of creating a diversion, while the main armies of the other powers in alliance, penetrated the French frontier. Spain was to have been a very important party to the project; she was to furnish not only troops, but fifteen millions of livres, towards the expenses of the expedition.

In order to collect information, the Swedish monarch visited Aix-la-Chapelle in the month of July, and spared no pains to complete the project, which it was proposed to carry out in the following spring. It was laid before the Emperor Leopold, and the King of Prussia; but the views of these sovereigns were too peaceful to admit of their taking part in it.

In the mean time, the King of France having accepted the constitution presented to him by the national assembly, Spain withdrew from her original promise of assistance, being desirous for the preservation of peace.

But Gustavus persevered in his design; in conjunction with the Empress, and convened a diet previous to his departure on the projected enterprise, for which every arrangement was made, when that unexpected catastrophe,

already related,* occurred, which hurried him to an untimely grave. Thus for the moment were the Tzarina's designs on France frustrated; but even the death of her ally did not daunt her bold and daring spirit, which still held in view some check to the principles of the French republicans finding their way into her dominions. To attempt to close the floodgates of democracy in France itself, was too Quixotic even for Catherine's genius; but to prevent the pestilence infecting her own subjects, every care was given, which our subsequent history will show.

* *See* Second Vol. p. 279.

## CHAPTER VI.

Visit of the young King of Sweden and the Regent to St. Petersburgh —Proposed Marriage with the Grand Duchess Alexandra—The day fixed for the Betrothment—Gustavus refuses to Sign the Treaty of Marriage—The King and the Regent leave the Russian Capital—The Empress provides Consorts for her Grandsons—The Acquisition of Courland to the Russian Empire—Catherine's continued Ambition for Foreign Conquests—Assembles an Army to invade Persia—Invites Sali Khan to St. Petersburgh—The Russian Troops assemble at Kislar—The Command of the Army given to Count Valerian Zuboff—Its Arrival at and Capture of Derbent—Expedition suspended by the Death of the Empress—Winding up the Drama of the Great Catherine—Her sudden Illness—Her last Words—Arrival of the Grand Duke Paul and his Family from Gatchina—The Birthplace of Catherine—The Splendour of her Reign—Her Love of Glory—Despotic Government—Her profligate Expenditure—Dangerous Measures of Finance—Catherine's Horror of the French Revolution—Private Character of the Empress—Her Degrading Profligacy—Establishment of Favourites—Orloff and Zuboff—Depraved State of Morals of her Court—Catherine's Taste for the Fine Arts and for Literature—Splendour of her Court—Her Public Life—Superstition and Vanity.

CATHERINE, after the death of Gustavus, hoped to reign in Sweden through the influence of the Duke of Sudermania, the Regent named by the late king during the minority of Gustavus Adolphus. She sent Count Stackleberg to Stockholm, to establish her influence there, and to bring about a marriage between the young king and the Grand Duchess Alexandra, her granddaughter, who was educated and brought up with the

expectation of being one day Queen of Sweden. It is even said that the matrimonial alliance was a secret article in the treaty of Varela. Catherine could not live in peace but in proportion as her neighbours were submissive or devoted to her; and this marriage was now one of her favourite projects. Every thing was done to inspire the young Gustavus with similar sentiments by the astute Stackleberg, so famous for his embassy in Poland; but the Duke of Sudermania set himself to oppose directly the Russian alliance. He did not feel satisfied to sacrifice his country for the ladies.

To remove the Regent, and to substitute a council of her creatures in his stead, was now the object of the Tzarina, whom he had grievously offended by seeking another alliance for his royal pupil with one of the Princesses of Mecklenburgh, who was solemnly betrothed to him, and the intended match was announced in form to all the courts of Europe. This was an offence never to be pardoned, and every art was tried to ruin the Regent's character in Sweden. Even in the public papers it was insinuated that he had been privy to the assassination of the king, his brother. Such were the detestable means to which Count Romanzoff, the Russian minister, condescended to further the wishes of his sovereign. Count Stackleberg had been recalled, since he was too proud, and of too lofty a spirit, to stoop to such low intrigues.

After these violent proceedings against the Regent, how could it have been imagined that he was to be drawn into the snares of the wily Catherine? Yet so it was, and she obtained the delay of the marriage of the young king until he became of age, when his pupil was to have his free choice, and they were both invited to St.

Petersburgh. Although the marriage with the Grand Duchess was the real motive of this invitation, yet it was but slightly touched upon. "If the two children have, as it has been said, a mutual affection already, should they, on seeing each other, still prove agreeable, means may be thought of for rendering them happy." Such was the language of the Empress. If she could get them to the court she thought she should have the game in her own hands, reckoning on the charms of the princess, and the kindness which she would herself lavish on the young king. She doubted not but the young Gustavus would give both the kingdom and the glory of Charles XII. to possess such a bride.

On the 15th August, 1790, the young king, under the title of Count Haga, arrived at St. Petersburgh with his uncle and a numerous suite; they alighted at the house of Baron Stedding, the Swedish ambassador. All the city was anxious to see the young monarch. The Empress, who was then at the Taurida palace, came to that of the Hermitage to receive him, and to give him entertainments. At their first interview, the two sovereigns appeared to be enchanted with each other. Gustavus would have kissed the hand of the Empress, but she would not allow it, saying, "No, I cannot forget that Count Haga is a king." "If your Majesty," he replied, "will not give me permission as Empress, at least allow me as a lady, to whom I owe so much respect and admiration."

The interview with the young princess was still more interesting; both were extremely embarrassed, and the eyes of all the court being turned towards them, increased their confusion. There is no doubt that they found each other worthy of the sentiments with which

they had been inspired from infancy. The Grand Duchess Alexandra Paulona, at fourteen, was tall, and already womanly; her figure was noble and majestic, softened by all the graces of her age and sex, with a complexion fair as alabaster; innocence, candour, and serenity stamped her beautiful countenance, and her heart, talents, and intellect, were in union with her fair exterior. A refined education had cultivated in her mind the noblest and purest sentiments. With exquisite sensibility, judgment, and understanding, she commanded the admiration of all who came near her.

Gustavus was seventeen years of age, tall, and finely shaped, with an air of dignity, intelligence, and mildness; yet there was something of grandeur and stateliness about him, that attracted respect. He had all the graces of youth without the awkwardness that generally attends it; his manners were simple, though courteous and polite, and a certain gravity which bespoke his rank, never forsook him. All the pomp of the Russian court was seducingly exhibited to his view, but it seemed in no way to dazzle him. In that brilliant and numerous assembly he appeared more at ease than the Grand Dukes themselves, and the Empress could not conceal her chagrin at the disparity between the young king and the second of her grandchildren, the Grand Duke Constantine, who, for his boisterous and rude behaviour at a review of a corps of Cadets of the artillery, was put under arrest by order of the Empress. The great men of the empire vied with each other in sumptuous entertainments to the royal guests of their Sovereign, and sought to dazzle them by the richness of their dress, as did the generals in the military spectacles which they were constantly exhibiting to the King;

hence Gustavus was kept in a state of constant excitement. He employed his mornings in traversing the city on foot with the Regent, seeing every thing that could be interesting or instructive. The Regent, who was a very little man, his eyes sparkling and full of fire, was equally enjoying with his pupil the wonderful sights of St. Petersburgh. The Empress was enchanted with the success of her plans for bringing the two royal lovers together, who appeared to be mutually delighted, having frequent opportunities of conversing and dancing with each other.

The expected marriage was no longer a secret, but became the common topic of conversation. The day appointed for the celebration was the 21st September, 1796. The Empress had already addressed the King and her grand-daughter as betrothed lovers, and had even made them give "the first kiss of love" in her presence. The great difficulty which presented itself was the difference of their religion; the Tzarina consulted the archbishop, to know whether her grand-daughter might abjure the orthodox faith—to which he gave the answer of the courtier instead of the divine, "Your Imperial Majesty is all powerful;" but on consulting his clergy, they were not quite so complaisant, and they all gave it as their opinion, that the Grand Duchess could *not* abjure her faith on her marriage, and that, as Queen of Sweden, she must remain of the Greek religion.

In the private conversations which had passed between the Empress and the young King, the subject had been but slightly touched upon, when Gustavus hinted that, from respect to the Russian nation, and the prejudices of the people, the princess should not be obliged to abjure the *Greek religion in form;* and, as it

was not stated that the Empress had any objection to this arrangement, the treaty of marriage went on. The King was enamoured and dazzled—the Regent completely gained over; and the Swedish ambassador demanded the princess in marriage, at an audience which was given him for the purpose of making the demand in form; the day and hour on which the parties were to be publicly betrothed were fixed. The Empress left to her favourite ministers, Zuboff and Markoff, the care of drawing up the contract according to her views, of which the private articles were, that the princess should have her chapel and clergy in the royal palace. The day fixed on for the betrothment was the 2nd of September, when the whole court received orders to assemble in full dress, in the apartments of the throne; the young princess habited as a bride, and attended by her sisters, with all the ladies and gentlemen of the court; the Grand Duke Paul Petrovitch, father to the princess, with the Grand Duchess, came from Gatchina to be present at the ceremony of the betrothment of their daughter. The company were assembled by seven o'clock in the evening.

The Empress herself arrived in all the pomp of sovereign magnificence. No one was wanting but the young bridegroom, whose tardiness at first excited astonishment. The repeated exits and entrances of Count Zuboff, and the impatience discovered by the Empress, soon excited the curiosity and whisperings of the ladies. "What is the matter; is the King taken ill? He is not very gallant, however; how could he dare thus to make the sovereign wait in the apartment of the throne, and with all her court assembled?" thus inquired the Empress with very ill-suppressed ire.

The King was to have been at court at seven in the evening. At six the minister took to him the contract and the articles of the alliance. Gustavus, having read them over, appeared greatly astonished at finding them contain particulars on which he had not agreed with the Empress, and asked whether it was from her majesty they were brought him to sign.

When Markoff answered in the affirmative, he replied that he could not possibly comply; observing, that he would lay no restraint on the Grand Duchess, that she might enjoy her own religion in private; but he could not allow either a chapel, or priests in the palace; on the contrary, in public, and in all outward ceremonies, she must profess the religion of the country.

Markoff hastened to take up his papers, and reported to Zuboff that the King refused his signature. He soon after returned to his Majesty in the greatest agitation, saying that the Empress was already in the apartment of the throne, that it was no longer possible to speak to her, and that she waited for the King; he flattered himself, therefore, that he would not bring the affair to an open rupture, which would be an unheard of insult to his sovereign, to the young princess, and to the whole empire. Several other courtiers arrived in succession, exhorting, praying, and urging the King to yield.

All the Swedes composing the King's suite who were called in were disposed to submit. The Regent contented himself with saying, that it depended entirely on the King himself; he then drew him aside, and took a turn round the room with him, appearing to press him, and, while speaking to him in a low voice, the King answered, "No, no, I will not—I cannot; I will never sign them." Gustavus withstood all the remon-

strances—all the importunities of the Russian ministers; and at length, vexed with the pertinacity with which they beset him, he retired to his chamber and fastened the door, after giving a clear and peremptory refusal to sign any thing inconsistent with the laws of his country. The Russian ministers remained stupified at the audacity of a boy who dared thus to resist their sovereign, and consulted how to break the catastrophe to her. This unhappy day exposed the great and imperious Catherine to the greatest chagrin and humiliation she had ever experienced.

The Empress and her court were still waiting, whilst the debates between her ministers and the King were going on, which lasted till near ten o'clock, when Prince Zuboff entered, went softly up to her, and whispered something in her ear; she rose and attempted to speak, but her tongue faltered, and she was likely to faint,—she had even a slight fit, the precursor of that which carried her off a few weeks afterwards. The Empress withdrew, and the Court was dismissed under pretence of a sudden indisposition of the King; but the true reasons soon came out. Some were offended at the audacity of the petty King of Sweden; others blamed the wily Catherine, who had so lightly exposed herself to such a scene; but the presumption of Zuboff and Markoff, who had attempted to impose on the Swedes by their artifice, in procuring a matrimonial contract to be signed without being read, was particularly censured. The most interesting victim to this foolish stratagem, was the amiable Grand-Duchess Alexandra. She had scarcely strength to enter her apartments; where, no longer able to restrain her tears, she gave herself up to a grief that affected all about her, and made her really ill.

The following day, being the birth-day of the Grand Duchess Anna Feodorovna, a ball was held at court. The young King was there; the Empress appeared for a moment, but did not speak to him; he conversed a little with the Grand Duke Alexander, and retired early; this was the last time of his appearing at court. The public days of pomp and festivity were suddenly changed into those of retirement and gloom, and never did a king spend so unpleasant and melancholy a time at a foreign court: as from that period every one was ill—or pretended to be so. The Empress shut herself up in the Taurida palace, on the pretence of celebrating the foundation of the chapel, but in reality to consult with the clergy and her favourites, on the embarrassing situation in which she was placed. Endeavours were made to bring affairs a little in train again: the King saw her still in private, and many conferences were held among the ministers.

Gustavus at length eluded the business, by saying that he would refer the matter to the Estates of the Kingdom, which would be assembled at his coming of age, and if they would consent to have a Queen of the Greek religion, he would then send for the Princess. This language was held as highly offensive to the Empress Catherine; and Gustavus quitted St. Petersburgh on the 20th September, leaving the Empress in much ill-humour, and the Princess Alexandra in much grief and affliction, since there is no doubt that she had a great affection for the young king. Gustavus remained in the Russian capital altogether about six weeks, during which time the Grand Duke Paul saw him only once or twice; and for form's sake only did the King visit at Gatchina and Pavlosky.

Paul and the Regent were by no means congenial with each other. The dress of the Swedes—their short coats, cloaks, ribbons, and round hats, he had an unconquerable aversion to. The firmness which the young Gustavus displayed, gave to his nation a proof of his decision of character, which could not be too much admired in a prince of seventeen. Most of the Swedes who attended him, having been bribed by highly-raised expectations of the wedding, were severely disappointed; but the King's counsellors declared that they would never advise him to act contrary to the laws of the realm. His Majesty, not long after, married the Princess Frederica of Baden; but, notwithstanding the charms of his bride, it was said that he was not very happy with her, and that he ever regretted the loss of the Grand Duchess Alexandra.

The Empress was more successful in providing consorts for her grandsons. She invited to her court two princesses of Baden, who were conducted there by their mothers. After a long and toilsome journey, they arrived at midnight, towards the end of autumn, 1792, and were received at the Taurida palace by the Empress, when they threw themselves at her Majesty's feet, and with tears kissed her robe and her hand, till she raised them up and embraced them. The next day Catherine came to see them, and whilst they were yet at their toilet, she presented them with the ribbon of St. Catherine, and with jewels and stuffs, saying, "My young friends, when I arrived in Russia I was not so rich as you." The Grand Dukes were introduced to them the same day; the Empress told the princesses, that their country being taken from them by the French, she had sent for them to have them educated at her court.

On their return from the palace, the Grand Dukes talked much about the young princesses, when Alexander said he thought the elder very pretty; which was repeated to his grandmother, and she was much delighted, as it was the lady she designed for him. The young princesses first made their appearance at court when some deputies from Poland were presented to the Empress, and they were dazzled with the magnificence which surrounded them. The younger sister soon returned to her native country, when the Empress loaded her with presents of the most costly sort; whilst the Princess Louisa remained, smiling at the destiny that awaited her.

The sight of the Grand Duke Alexander, who was to be her husband, and who equalled herself in beauty of person, and gentleness of manner, had inspired her with love: she submitted gracefully to every thing required of her—learned the Russian language, was instructed in the Greek religion, into which she was baptized, and proclaimed as Grand Duchess, under the name of Elizabeth Alexieona. In the month of May following, the ceremony of betrothing was performed with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. Russia had just finished three wars, almost equally triumphant. No court ever exhibited so brilliant and variegated a spectacle. A great number of the generals and other officers, covered with the decorations which they had gathered in battle, gave splendour to the scene; which was heightened by Polish magnates, envoys from Bokhara and from Persia, and a numerous crowd of courtiers attending on the proud Aristocratrix of the north. These were about the last splendid days that Catherine enjoyed. She sat on a throne, raised in the midst of different tables, crowned

and covered with gold and diamonds; her eye carelessly wandered over the immense assembly, composed of persons of all nations, whom she seemed to behold at her feet, and surrounded by her numerous and brilliant family; the Empress looked almost like some heathen deity whom the mortals were assembled to worship.

The arrival of the Princess of Saxe-Coburg, with her three daughters (one of whom became the wife of the Grand Duke Constantine), was less striking, and they were not presented till their wardrobes had been renewed. Constantine did not like either of them; he said they had a German air, and he preferred every thing Russian, even beauty. At length the Grand Duke made choice of the youngest, a little brunette, with some marks of wit, and deserving more happiness than she received from her husband.

The Empress was not on very good terms with her son, the Grand Duke Paul Petrovitch, arising partly from his peculiar character, and partly from the despotism of his mother, who would arbitrarily govern his children; she even dared them to visit their father without her permission. Her Majesty had presented to Constantine the sum of 30,000 roubles to lay out in presents for his young bride, which he generously handed over to his father, whose income was very limited, being confined merely to the allowance of a Grand Duke. This trait of generosity so affected the Empress, that she immediately wrote him an order on the Treasury for 100,000 rubles, and made him a present of a magnificent palace at St. Petersburg, with a considerable estate in the country; and from that time she became reconciled to her son, and gave full liberty to his children to visit him as often as they pleased.

To revert once more to the territorial aggressions of the Tzarina. The acquisition of Courland to Russia was of great importance. By caresses and intrigues the Empress had won over the inhabitants of Lavonia to insist on the fulfilment of an ancient convention with the Courlanders, to bring all their merchandise to Riga, although they had on their own coasts excellent harbours, happily situated. A quarrel, which had naturally arisen on the subject, between the Lavonians and Courlanders, was not yet terminated, when the Empress sent engineers into Courland to mark out a canal for facilitating the merchandise of that country into Lavonia., The Courlanders seeing this, and fearing lest they should be soon forced to make use of this canal, thought it better for them to be protected than oppressed by the Empress, and to be her subjects rather than her neighbours.

Catherine, informed of their disposition, called to her Court the Duke of Courland, the feeble son of the famous Biren, under the pretext of having to consult with him on some matters of importance. But no sooner was that prince at the foot of the throne of the Tzarina, than the Estates of Courland held an assembly. The nobility proposed to withdraw the country from the supremacy of Poland, and put it under that of Russia; the principal members of the grand council made a faint opposition to this alteration, observing that, before they proceeded to this resolution, it would be expedient to await the return of the Duke. The Oberburgrass Hoven rose up, and spoke a long time in favour of Russia; some counsellors expressed themselves of the same opinion, and others reproached them with treason. The dispute grew warm on both sides—challenges were reciprocally

given, and swords were about to be drawn, when the Russian general, Pahlen, appeared in the assembly; his presence restored tranquillity; no one presumed to raise his voice against Russia, and the proposal of the nobles was adopted. The next day the act was drawn up, by which Courland, Senigallia, and the Circle of Pilten, made a formal surrender of themselves by treaty, dated 18th March, 1795, to the Empress of Russia, and it was carried to St. Petersburg, where the Duke of Courland learnt, from the mouth of his own subjects, that they had deprived him of his dominions. The Empress immediately sent a governor into that province. Some discontent remained in Courland, which brought a proscription, and the possessions of the proscribed were given to the favourities of Catherine; principally to Plato Zuboff, and his brother Valerian, who obtained a great part of these rich and shameful spoils. Courland produces much corn, as well as timber, in both of which articles it carries on a great commerce; and it has several ports advantageously situated on the Baltic, one of which, Vindeau, became the rendezvous of the Russian fleet. This port is never obstructed by ice, and might be rendered capable of containing a hundred ships of the line.*

* According to an authentic estimate, published in 1795, by Major Oppermann, the acquisitions to the Russian Empire, made during the reign of Catherine II., are thus given:—

| | Square Versts. | Inhabs. both sexes |
|---|---|---|
| At the first partition of Poland..... | 76,558 | 1,226,966 |
| From the Porte, in the years 1774 & 1783, | 113,150 | 171,510 |
| From the Porte, in 1791..... | 23,053 | 42,708 |
| At the second partition of Poland, 1793... | 202,383 | 3,745,663 |
| By the subjugation of Courland..... | 16,273 | 387,922 |
| By the third partition of Poland, 1795..... | 94,645 | 1,407,402 |
| Total..... | 526,062 | 6,982,171 |

Foreign conquests had not yet lost their charm for the Empress. She had accustomed her subjects to warlike habits, and was so incessantly engaged in projects of aggrandizement, that the sudden transition to inactivity, which the peace with Turkey had occasioned, could not long be endured, and she was looking out for fresh fields to tempt her ambition. Having annexed Courland, Senigallia, and other states, whose chiefs had sought the protection of Russia, she was constantly taking measures, by peaceful usurpation, to add to her already overgrown empire. Some of these acquisitions proved an immense augmentation to the wealth of Russia; and whoever of the inhabitants dared to refuse to submit to these usurpations, were immediately deprived of the heritage of their fathers, and driven from their native soil. But those quiet treaties were not sufficient to occupy the active mind of Catherine II., which was as thirsty as ever for distant conquests, and Persia seemed to offer the most tempting region for that purpose.

At this time a civil war was raging in that country, between two rival brothers for the throne. The public mind of Europe was then engaged in the struggles of the French revolution, and war was waged against France by the different powers, in the object of which the Empress cordially concurred, but had not yet engaged to take any part; hence the opportunity was a tempting one for her vaulting ambition, nor was there a pretence long wanting for entering the field. Persia, being torn in pieces by the contentions of the rival brothers, Mahomed Khan Koja and Sali Khan; the latter fled for refuge to Astracan, a Russian settlement, where General Potemkin (a cousin of the late Prince Potemkin) had the command of the fort. The Persian prince was lured into the fort

under the strongest assurances of protection for himself and the immense treasures which he brought with him. These were soon taken possession of, and divided amongst the Russian officers, and himself made a prisoner. It was a principle at the Russian court, to allow their officers to enrich themselves with the spoils which they could take; so that no notice was taken of the representations made by the captive prince, particularly as a war was then meditated with Persia. His petitions were artfully neglected at St. Petersburgh, and secret orders were given to detain him in close custody. The time was not yet arrived when Sali Khan might be made available for the intended Persian war, for which a pretence was still wanting, but the prince was soon brought to aid the projects of the wily Tzarina. Mahomed Khan Koja, who had established himself as Shah of Persia, made a powerful irruption into Georgia, carrying fire and sword into the capital of Tiflis, and bringing away with him 50,000 Georgians into slavery. Georgia had been annexed to Persia in the sixteenth century, but it had subsequently regained its independence, although it had never been formally recognised by Persia; and the object of Mahomed Khan Koja's expedition was to oblige Heraclius, the then sovereign, to acknowledge him as Shah, and to pay him a large tribute in furs and slaves, for the security of which he captured and took with him his eldest son into Persia. Heraclius, an old man, would probably have yielded to the conqueror, but he had previously sought and taken Russian protection; hence he was obliged to refer the affair to St. Petersburgh, and, dreading Russian protection almost as much as Persian invasion, he fled to the mountains with his court and family, there to wait for orders from Russia. This was

a fine opportunity for Catherine to commence her designs against Persia. She was filled with indignation at the insult offered to her ally and her own servants; and ordered her vassal to remain quiet, and that she would resent the injuries which he had sustained.

Immediately immense preparations were made to revenge the insult offered to the vassal of the Empress by Mahomed Khan. As early as the month of January, 1796, sailors and shipbuilders were sent to Kislar and Astracan, under the directions of Admiral Feodoreff, who engaged to equip, towards spring, a few small frigates and some transports for the service of the army. At the same time, troops were marching from every corner of the empire, during the depth of winter, towards Kislar—their appointed rendezvous. Some regiments had upwards of eight hundred leagues to march, and had to cross the immense steppes of Astracan and the Kuban, where sometimes fifty leagues may be passed without meeting a single habitation, and where water could only be obtained from putrid marshes. One-fourth of the troops perished by the way before they arrived at Kislar; but these were not much thought of by the Empress, since another ukase would soon fill up the ranks.

To aid her design in the invasion of Persia, the captive prince, Sali Khan, must be brought forward, and immediately a courier was despatched to Astracan, with an invitation for him to visit St. Petersburgh. The prisoner of the day before, was now treated with royal distinctions; he was acknowledged as the legitimate Shah, and was received as a sovereign come to demand vengeance on Mahomed Khan Koja, and the protection of the Empress; that she would be pleased, in her magnanimity, to aid him in taking possession of his dominions.

He was received with extraordinary distinction at St. Petersburgh, being lodged in chambers of the palace expressly assigned to him. Although Sali Khan was treated as a king to be replaced on his throne, he did not perceive that he was only a passive instrument, to be made use of by the Empress to aid her ambitious designs on his country. His appearance in the capital looked more like a triumph than a welcome; the people partook of it with much enthusiasm. Great activity and excitement prevailed amongst the military; the approaching war held out the most tempting prospects of aggrandizement. Already was Persia parcelled out amongst the troops, even general officers had speculated on the fruits of their victories; and so wonderful was the delusion, that the commander of the expedition had already appointed a number of his friends to posts in the new country, which he felt certain he should conquer. He even accepted proposals for establishing an East India Company at Derbent and Forabad, where the roads would be tracked with numerous caravans, bearing the riches of India and Persia; in this way to restore the commerce to the channels through which it had flowed in the early ages. Kasbin and Tauris were already taken by anticipation, when there would be no difficulty in the conquest of the gorgeous Ispahan and the golden Shiraz; more than this, Russian fleets were to navigate the Caspian and the Persian gulf. Never did such enthusiasm, perhaps, exist at St. Petersburgh as at the proposed invasion of Persia; and it seems astonishing that such eastern visions could have been generated in the frozen regions of Russia. The Empress paid particular attention to the Persian prince, who was to be the grand agent in this vast expedition; and all the blandishments of her court were laid before him. She

assured him that she had but just heard of his misfortunes at Astracan; that she was quite indignant at the conduct of Potemkin, and would order an immediate investigation into the whole affair, which was never done, and it soon finally dropped.

Sali Khan was now recognised as Shah of Persia. He issued a manifesto denouncing his brother as a tyrant, and calling upon all his faithful subjects to come to his assistance, and expel Mahomed Khan Koja from the throne, which he was about to take possession of, assisted by his generous ally, the Empress of Russia. This manifesto, which was published in the Persian language, was industriously circulated, and it closed with threatening vengeance on Tauris and Ispahan if they dared to resist his advance, or even to remain neutral. This was accompanied by another manifesto from the Empress, likewise threatening vengeance on those who did not obey the commands of the prince, whom she had taken under her special protection.

Catherine now determined to prosecute the war with vigour, without reference to the geographical or climate difficulties which her troops would have to encounter; and, by way of animating her subjects with enthusiasm in the cause, the St. Petersburgh Gazette falsely announced the capture of Bender Abassi in the Persian gulf, whilst the Russian army was still at Kislar.

The stupendous chain of the mountains of Caucasus seemed to offer an insurmountable barrier between Russia and Persia, to the passage of an army from one country to another. There was but one route through Georgia which rendered it possible, and this was the chain which borders the Caspian, intersected by perpen-

dicular rocks, through which were openings at intervals, which led to a sandy beach between them and the sea. The inland course was intercepted with pathless woods and foaming torrents, and it seemed hopeless that troops could make their way through them, particularly when encumbered with guns and baggage. So well did the Shah of Persia understand these difficulties to an invading army, that he calculated on their wasting them more than he could do by his victories, so that he retreated from before them, laying waste the intervening country, cutting down the trees, and leaving the villages in ruins; thus, he depopulated provinces through which he passed, leaving no succour or provisions for the enemy.

In the month of May, 1796, the immense preparations which were made for the invasion of Persia were completed, and 30,000 men were gathered in the plains of Kislar; so great an activity in bringing them together, had scarcely been witnessed on any former occasion, such was the life with which the great Sovereign of the North had been able to animate the expedition; but now the choice of the general to conduct it was most important, and looked for with the greatest impatience. It was generally supposed that her favourite general, Suwarrow, would have the command; there were likewise Kumenskoi and Godovitch, able and experienced generals; but neither of them was selected by Catherine, and, to the general surprise, she invested Valerian Zuboff with the supreme command—a brother of the reigning favourite—entitling him as "our dearest and well-beloved Count Zuboff;"—a man totally unacquainted with war, who entered upon his duties with that presumptuous confidence which proved him to be

completely ignorant of the nature of his arduous undertaking. He immediately set off to take the command of the army at Kislar, when they began their march, and penetrated through those rocky defiles of Mount Caucasus which border the Caspian, as being the only practicable road for entering Georgia, with an army and its baggage. The Russians penetrated through these defiles with the greatest difficulty. They had taken the precaution to put the provisions and heavy baggage on board the vessels sailing along the coast; nor was their passage disputed by the numerous tribes occupying the Caucasus: even the dangerous straits which lie near Derbent, called the Caspian-gates, were not disputed.

By this time Mahomed Khan Koja had evacuated Georgia, and the King, Heraclius, had returned to Tiflis, so that the pretext for the war no longer existed.

On their march the Russian troops sustained great losses, and the first place of consequence at which they arrived was the fortress and town of Derbent—a place of some importance, and the capital of Daghestan; its situation at the foot of the mountains, and at the outlet of the Caspian gates, rendered it very capable of defence, but the Persians were more ignorant than the Turks of fortification; and although the place was gallantly defended by the Persians and Lesghis, who had thrown themselves into it, and for a few days succeeded in resisting the formidable power of the Russians, yet the latter at length overwhelmed them, and entered the town, which, after terrible carnage amongst the people, surrendered. An old man who presented the keys to the general, is said to have been the same that, in the year 1722, had presented them to Peter the Great;* but

* *See* First Volume, p. 345.

this wants confirmation. This being the first victory of the army of Russia, a courier was immediately despatched to St. Petersburgh with the glowing intelligence, where it was received with the joyous demonstration of ringing bells and firing cannons, and was believed to be the prelude of the conquest of Persia.

Flushed with triumph, the Russian army advanced, but without meeting the enemy, who, true to his policy, like the Parthians of old, had retreated before them, leaving every thing waste; the army proceeded to Baku, where, from the unhealthiness of the season (July), they were obliged to pause and suspend their operations. The soldiers indulged in the immoderate use of melons and other fruits, which occasioned great mortality amongst them. They were now obliged to draw near the mountains of the Caucasus in search of health, where they were attacked by the wild tribes of the Lesghis, who were incessantly coming down upon the troops, and from whom they suffered great losses. The mountaineers, encouraged by their continued successes against the invaders, and supported by a corps of Persian cavalry, made such a vigorous attack on them as to throw the whole camp into the greatest confusion and alarm, and for several hours the victory fluctuated from side to side, but it was at length decided in favour of the Russians, after dreadful slaughter amongst them. The whole disposable force of the army now remaining, amounted only to 18,000 men, with which it was impossible for the general much longer to continue his operations; but he had the greatest confidence that the Empress would support him, so he pushed on to the fortresses of Badkoo, Koobba, and Shirwan, all of which submitted to him, and he wintered at Moghan. Immense efforts were made through

every part of the empire to send troops to the army, and regiments were marching to it from all quarters. Zuboff was encamped on the banks of the Cyrus, waiting for these reinforcements; and Mahomed Khan Koja, the Shah of Persia, was encamped, with a large army, on the banks of the Araxes, when news was brought to the Russian general of the death of the Empress. Thus ended an expedition more costly and disastrous than will ever be known beyond the Russian archives.

The time had now arrived for winding up the drama of the life of the great Catherine, whose reign, like a meteor of the north, had so long dazzled surrounding nations. It is supposed that the mortifying indignity which she received from the King of Sweden during his late visit to St. Petersburg, hastened her end, of which there was then some slight premonition, as already related; her proud and daring mind had never before received such an insult, both to herself as sovereign, and to her family, as the king's rejection of the Archduchess Alexandra. This rankled in the mind of the haughty Catherine; nevertheless, to dissipate her chagrin, and to manifest publicly how little she was affected by it, the Court was given up to an endless round of dissipation for six weeks, during which time the tendencies to bodily decay were first perceived in the Empress. She increased in size almost to deformity; her legs were swollen and ulcerated, and she lost the shape of her handsome feet, formerly so much admired. She was still desirous of looking young and beautiful; the fatigue of the toilet was almost too much for her; she had difficulty in going up and down the stairs of the palace, nor would she be carried in a chair, being unwilling to yield to her infirmities.

Some of the courtiers at the balls and entertainments

given by them to the King of Sweden, transferred the stairs of their houses into gentle ascents, a gallantry of this sort costing one of them no less than 3000 roubles. Catherine was at this time become the old woman; she had lost her teeth, her voice was broken, and her articulation bad. The lower part of her face was rather rude and coarse; her grey eyes, clear and penetrating, evinced something of hypocrisy, and she had somewhat of a sneering look; she walked slowly and with short steps, with majestic front, lofty and serene, and with tranquil look, but sometimes cast down.

Her mode of salutation was by a slight inclination of the body, not without grace, but with a smile at command that came and vanished with the bow. If, upon the introduction of a stranger, she presented her hand to him to kiss, she did it with great courtesy, and commonly addressed a few words to him on the subject of his journey and visit. The most striking likeness of her was taken by the celebrated Lampi,* which is extremely flattering. Even at this advanced age Catherine still retained some remains of beauty; her hair was always dressed in an antique simplicity, and in a peculiar taste, and never did a crown sit better on any head than hers. She was of the middle stature, and conspicuous for her graceful and dignified carriage. In her private life the good-humour and confidence with which she inspired all those who had access to her, placed them perfectly at their ease; but the moment she made her public appearance, she assumed a sedate demeanour, and a very different countenance; from an agreeable and facetious woman, she appeared all at once the reserved and majestic Empress.

* *See* Frontispiece.

The superstition of the Russians could even deal in signs as prognostics of her death, although in Russia the two words *Death* and *Empress* could not be coupled together, without the almost certain danger of being charged with blasphemy. On the evening of the Empress's visit at the house of Tamorloff, a bright star shot from the sky over her head, and fell into the Neva; this omen was the common talk of the whole city, and as it made its descent near the spot where the citadel and the tombs of the sovereigns were situated, it was whispered that this was the harbinger of the approaching dissolution of the Empress. But Catherine, afterwards, evinced an uncommon share of spirits at her little hermitage parties as they were called, in which she indulged in pleasantries and humorous notes. Amongst the latter, was one which she wrote to the Austrian minister, Cobenzel, on hearing the news of the defeat of the French under Moreau, near the Rhine. This note was in every body's hands, and ran thus:—"I hasten to inform your excellent Excellency, that the excellent troops of the excellent court, have given the French an excellent drubbing."

A few days before she died, she complained slightly of occasional giddiness,—her physicians recommended bleeding,—she replied, "I will reserve that remedy for a serious illness."

In the evening which preceded her death, she was unusually cheerful, and had amused herself with her buffoon Narshin, entering into all sorts of tricks, trafficking with him for baubles, which he used to carry in his pockets to sell to the Empress. She had that evening heard of the death of the King of Sardinia, of which event she spoke in a free and jocular manner, and

she retired to rest earlier than usual, assigning as a reason some slight symptoms of colic, from too much laughter.

The next morning she arose at her accustomed hour, and, sending for her favourite, gave him a short audience; she afterwards transacted business with her secretaries, to one of whom she said, "Tell Prince Zuboff to come to me at twelve, and to remind me of signing the treaty of alliance with England," and these were her last words! She then retired to her apartments; and her valet, Zachang Contantinovitch, who was in attendance, waited for some time, uneasy at not being called, and also hearing no noise in her room. He at last opened the door, and saw, to his surprise and terror, the Empress prostrate on the floor, without sense or motion. She had not made the least exclamation, for the door occupied by one of the female attendants was open, and the lady who was warming herself by the fire heard nothing.

A mattress was spread near the window; she was laid immediately upon it, when bleeding and all the ordinary means were resorted to on such occasions, but without producing any effect. Counts Soltikoff and Besborodke were immediately sent for by the favourite, who was in attendance, and every one was eager to despatch a messenger to the Grand Duke Paul, in which service Count Zuboff employed his own brother; and until eleven o'clock, the accustomed hour for summoning the Grand Duke, it was not known that the Empress was at all indisposed. The circumstance of her being ill did not transpire till one, and was then mentioned with a timid and mysterious caution, through fear of the consequences of mistake. In the mean time, those whom chance or their connection with office placed in the way of being early

informed of the truth, hastened to communicate it to their families and friends; for the death of the Empress was looked upon as the epoch of some extraordinary revolution in the state, as well from the character of Paul, as from the prospects and dispositions of which Catherine was suspected to have made respecting the succession; the court first, and presently the city, was in an alarming state of agitation and anxiety.

Five or six couriers arrived at the same instant at Gatchina, but the Grand Duke was then absent, the distance of a few versts only. Upon receiving the information, he appeared affected either with great joy or grief, but which it was difficult to distinguish; he arrived at St. Petersburgh at eight o'clock in the evening, with his wife and family, and found the palace in great confusion.

The Empress still lived when the Grand Duke, accompanied by his family, repaired to the chamber of his mother, who gave no sign of recognition at the appearance of her assembled children. She was lying on the mattress perfectly still. The Grand Duke Alexander, his wife, and the Princesses burst into tears, and formed around her a most affecting group; the Grand Duchesses, the gentlemen and ladies of the court, were up all night, waiting the last sigh of the Empress; and the Grand Duke Paul and his sons were frequently by her side, to witness the event. About ten in the morning she suddenly became worse, and began to rattle in the throat in a most alarming manner; the Imperial family hastened to her, but this new and shocking spectacle was too much for the Princesses, who were obliged to retire. At last she gave a horrible shriek, which was heard in the adjoining apartments; and at that awful moment her

soul, which had been for twenty-four hours hovering between time and eternity, entered into the presence of that God whose laws she had trampled upon, and whose omniscience she had defied.—Thus disappeared from the stage of life, on the 6th November, 1796, in the 68th year of her age, and the 35th year of her reign, one of the greatest sovereigns that had yet appeared on the canvass of Russian history. In a moment was Catherine struck to the ground from the pinnacle of greatness; her voice, which had commanded nations, was then unable to articulate; her presence, which had awed princes, was now prostrate, and to apply the words of the poet,—

"A heap of dust alone remains of thee,
'Tis all thou art, and all the proud shall be."

The palace was immediately filled with officers from Gatchina, and soon exhibited a wonderful metamorphosis, being transformed from the magnificent place of residence to the appearance of a garrison. Numerous sentinels were stationed at all the avenues and passages, and the new Sovereign quietly succeeded to the throne of Russia.

The fact of the death of the late Sovereign, looked more like the interlude of the acts of a play than a great loss which the nation had sustained; one actor was gone off the stage, and another ready to come on. The facility with which Catherine was forgotten, even by her own family, is noticeable, when the curtain was about to rise on her successor, for which every thing was prepared with that formality and discipline for which the Grand Duke Paul was so eminently distinguished. Previous to entering upon the history and career of the new Sovereign, some few remarks, as a summary, may be

desirable on the character and reign of the late Sovereign of Russia.

Catherine was born at Stettin, the 2nd May, 1729, and was named Sophia Augusta Frederica, but when received into the Greek Church, she was baptized as Catherina Alexievano. During the reign of this Empress, Russia enjoyed a power, influence, and glory, with a noble and splendid magnificence, unparalleled in the annals of any other of her Sovereigns—Russia, situated supreme between Europe and Asia, seemed as though she intended to dictate to both. She was now arrived to be a great and still growing empire, not having yet reached the summit of her glory; but, with life and vigour glowing in every part, every thing was bold and masculine, even vices and crimes were so great that they astonished mankind by their turpitude.

Catherine was the most illustrious Sovereign, after Peter the Great, of any on the theatre of Europe, for comprehension of mind, lofty ambition, courage, and perseverance in her designs, and the influence of her policy and arms on Europe generally, as well as on Asia. But, although her ambition was of the loftiest kind, she disdained not the meanest artifices, which she adopted to further her designs. It was not directed merely to the security and extension of her empire, but to the civilisation and welfare of subject tribes and nations, by the introduction of the arts, liberal and mechanical—of the improvement of manufactures and commerce; and all this by means more gradual and gentle than many of those employed by Peter the Great, and certainly more effectual. In all her wars she was successful, as well as in her regulations for the internal government of her mighty empire. There ap-

peared in her that benevolence, which, for the honour of human nature, is usually found with sublimity of genius. She wished, soon after her accession to the throne, to introduce civil liberty among the great mass of the people, by emancipating the serfs; but it was found impossible to emancipate their bodies without their minds. To this object she bent the powers of her inventive genius; schools were introduced in all parts of her dominions; thus a way was opened for the lowest of her subjects to liberty, by certain privileges within the scope of industry and merit. The code of laws, drawn up by her own hands, was never exceeded, in point either of sagacity or of goodness; for we are always to bear in mind, that even Solon found it expedient not to dictate the *best* laws, but the best that the people to whom he dictated were capable of bearing; and the establishment of hereditary right may be classed amongst the most excellent of her legislative enactments. Her military plans partook of the strength of tranquillity. She did not feed the flames of war to no purpose, but with a mighty and irresistible concentrated force proceeded directly to her object; and it is impossible to regard without astonishment the extent of the resources of Russia, which were developed during this reign, and the unbounded ambition which the Empress displayed. Whilst engaged in dismembering Poland with her allies, she was dismembering Turkey for her own aggrandizement, and even avowed her intention of having a third capital in the Bosphorus. Whilst she was subjugating the tribes of the Caucasus, she was acquiring kingdoms beyond them. The whole of Little Tartary and the Kriméa, the Isle of Taman, and the country of the Kuban, containing a population equally numerous, the

principalities of Georgia, Imeritia, Mongrelia, and the passes of the Caucasus, were now included in her territories, and she had obtained the undisputed dominion of the Euxine. Prince Potemkin had unlimited authority to receive the submission of any nations that might wish to become subjects of Russia. The Khans of Baku and Derbent professed their willingness to become the vassals of the Empress, although these chiefs had no more right to transfer their allegiance from Persia, than had the Hetman of the Cossacs or the Governor of Astracan from their lawful sovereign.

Prince Nassau Siegen presented to Catherine a project for marching an army through Bokhara and Cashmere to Bengal, to drive the English out of India. The plan had been drawn up by a Frenchman, and the first step towards its accomplishment was to be a manifesto, declaring the intention of the Empress to re-establish the Great Mogul on the throne of India. This it was supposed would secure the concurrence of intermediate states, and attract to the standard of Russia all the discontented spirits in Hindostan. The scheme, though derided by Potemkin, was favourably received by the Empress, and has never been forgotten in Russia.

But, descending from her political to her personal character, Catherine had not only the art of appearing affable, generous, and magnanimous, but the merit of really being so. She was not only a patroness of, but a proficient in literature; and, had not her life been spent in great actions, it would probably have been employed, though with somewhat less glory, in celebrating the illustrious achievements of others. Catherine has left a name that will be for ever memorable, and remembered by future generations of Russia,

to whom the benefits of her institutions will extend, with grateful admiration. Yet it was the love of glory that was her predominant passion, and the humane will regret that she pursued this through seas of blood; so that she will take her station in the temple of fame among the *great*, and not among the *good* Sovereigns, though it cannot but add to the odium of absolute monarchy, by displaying the miseries that grew from unbounded power, united with unbounded ambition. In genius, knowledge, and application, she was superior to any of her subjects, and by her wisdom and courage she raised Russia to the highest pitch of glory and power. She annihilated the French ascendency at the Courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen, and principally ruled all their political operations. She lamented the barbarism of her subjects, and wished to reform them, and was particularly attentive to domestic policy and improvement; but many of her projects were ill-executed, from the incompetent instruments which she employed.

The Empress displayed, in the early part of her reign, far too mild a disposition; being desirous by amicable condescension to reconcile the Russians to her usurpation. The error was soon detected by Catherine, and the effects felt by her, when she was obliged to impose restrictions to secure firm possession of the throne; but these, in the subsequent part of her reign, she relaxed, and permitted her subjects to approach her with more familiarity, when the dignity of the sovereign was often absorbed in the kindness of the friend. The effect of this condescension was the diminishing of that terror which had formerly surrounded the imperial throne; but the springs of its administration became debilitated and impaired. Every governor, or chief of department,

was a petty despot, and the people groaned under his tyranny. These upstarts were like so many hungry leeches, who must be fed with the best blood of the state, and fattened with the hard earnings of the people; those who had neither merit nor talent acquired wealth, merely as being employed by the government; every one, from the highest to the lowest, considered the property of the state as a harvest to be reaped, and grasped it with merciless avidity. Catherine, so far from inquiring into the sudden wealth of some of her nobles, considered it to be a proof of the prosperity of her reign, and was pleased to see the embellishment of her capital by their means, and the prodigality of their expenditure.

It was no uncommon thing for a government officer, with a salary of £30 or £40 a year, to build a palace which should cost more than £12,000! Rank, justice, and equity were sold to the highest bidder; thus were the finances of Russia pillaged by the lowest knaves and plunderers, who, during this reign, became lucky adventurers. At the galas given by the Empress, swarms of these characters made their appearance, some of whom were created counts and princes, and they served to swell her train of sycophants and time-servers. How many millions must it have cost to satisfy the rapacity of her favourites—the Orloffs, the Potemkins, the Zuboffs, and others! The favourites of Catherine are said to have cost the country eighty-eight millions of roubles! With respect to the government of Catherine, it was mild and moderate within the immediate circle of her influence, but arbitrary and terrible at a distance; whosoever, directly or indirectly, enjoyed the protection of the favourite, exercised, wheresoever he was situated, the

most undisguised tyranny. He insulted his superiors, trampled on his inferiors, and violated justice and order with impunity. It was first to the policy, and then to the weakness of Catherine, to which in part must be attributed the relaxed and disorganized state of her internal government, though the principal cause will be found in the depraved manners and character of the nation, and especially of the court. How was a woman to effect that which the active discipline and sanguinary rule of Peter the Great could not accomplish! Catherine having usurped a throne, which she was determined to retain, saw herself under the necessity of treating her accomplices with kindness.

Being a foreigner in the empire in which she reigned, she strove to identify herself with the nation by adopting and even flattering its tastes and its prejudices. She often knew how to reward, but never could resolve to punish; it was solely by suffering her power to be abused, that she succeeded in preserving it. The love of glory led the Tzarina into many unjust wars, from which she derived only that fame which generally accompanies success; and the love of renown endowed her court with a splendour and magnificence which had no parallel in that age, which has been compared to that of Louis XIV.; but, considered individually, Catherine was greater than that prince, since she possessed but few of his advantages. Louis had to reign over a polished people, and was surrounded with great and accomplished characters; whilst the Tzarina reigned over a rude, ignorant, and unpolished people. Russia had produced at this time but few men of genius, excepting Potemkin and Panin, and her great general, Suwarrow; the latter was a barbarian, and fitted only to command

barbarous troops. The last ten years of Catherine's reign carried her power and glory perhaps to their greatest height. The great Frederick dying, she was left the foremost of the crowned heads, and she surpassed them in understanding as much as her territories exceeded theirs in extent, in that immense empire, almost of romance, which she had subjected to her sway.

We are told that her court was composed of the great officers of state, of the Senate, Privy Counsellors, Princes, Counts and Barons, one Cupbearer, one Master of the Horse, one High Chamberlain, one Court Marshal, one Master of the Stables, twenty-three actual Chamberlains, nineteen Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, eight Adjutant-Generals, fifteen Ensign-Adjutants, one Mistress of the Court, eight State Ladies, one Lady of the Bedchamber, and six Maids of Honour. The Court etiquette was not stiff and formal, and required only a polite, unrestrained behaviour. Sunday was the grand day, when every subject who was decently dressed had access to the Sovereign.

The annual expenses of the palace are said to have amounted to one million five hundred thousand roubles; two hundred tables were spread twice a day, and the dishes for them were said to amount to two thousand three hundred. Every third day the purveyor received the money to make the provision; a pood of coffee was used daily, and eight thousand poods of salt per month, or 320,000 pounds. It is added, that the waste at Court was excessive; twelve hundred candles were delivered out daily to the guard, who never consumed one hundred. Every officer in the palace asked for what he wanted, such as decanters, glasses, &c., and nothing ever came back; consequently they made rapid fortunes,

particularly those whose business it was to clean the silver, the diminution of which was apparent to every observer.*

The national debt of Russia at this period amounted to 600,000,000 roubles, but the revenues of the Russian empire during the reign of Catherine II. were more than doubled, and were estimated to amount to from fifty-five to sixty millions of roubles; how they were raised becomes the inquiry. She imposed taxes at her will; she tripled the poll-tax, which, before 1726, did not amount to a rouble per head. This tax, called in the Russian language "poderschni-oklad," implies an impost on *souls*, to which the males alone were subject—women were formerly in Russia understood to have no souls, and were therefore exempt from the tax.

The Empress, both impatient and prodigal, could not, conveniently, wait the slow operation of taxation to supply her profligate expenditure; hence she had recourse to paper money; assignats were created to the amount of a hundred thousand roubles, and a bank was established for their circulation. This facilitated the payments of the interior of the empire, which, being in great measure in copper money, subjected the people to great inconvenience. The lords of the court were delighted at being able to carry their ready money in their pocket-books; and, in the early part of this circulation, the paper money bore a premium of from two to five per cent., but the amount was so rapidly augmented to 600,000,000 roubles, that it soon fell in value. Specie became scarce, and not long after nearly disappeared.

At the beginning of the Turkish war, the assignats fell to a discount of ten per cent.; in proportion as specie

* Tooke.

became scarce, assignats were multiplied. Catherine even created a new species of money under the name of "Cabinet Notes," which were intended to pay the private debts of the Empress; but this ruined a great many families who had advanced money to the court, and no one would any longer accept them. They had a year to run, bearing six per cent interest; and, when the time expired, the cabinet cared little about the payment, when tradesmen, under pressing necessity, negotiated them at forty per cent. discount. The cabinet was so unjust as to refuse paying the interest; and this breach of faith, which was attributed to Catherine, deprived her of whatever confidence her subjects had in her, and which foreigners had long since withdrawn —the price of every thing that was sold to the crown was tripled. Intriguers and profligates made fortunes by sharing these immense profits, whilst many were ruined by the depreciated value of the paper-money. The years from 1789 to 1795 gave the final blow to the finances, and to the assignats. But little gold or silver was any longer to be seen; and, when the paper-money had lost two-thirds of its value, it was impossible to force its circulation in the provinces. The Russian peasant could not understand how a scrap of red or blue paper could represent money, and he exchanged it as soon as he could for gold or silver coin, which he afterwards buried in the fields to conceal it from the avidity of his masters. This custom was general amongst the ancient Russian people, which was but natural to the peasant, who had neither property nor heritage. It was conjectured that vast quantities of money were buried, and never brought to light again. The peasant did it in the most secret manner, and kept it from his wife and children,

lest they might rob or betray him; and he often died without revealing his treasure. Perhaps he was made a soldier, or transplanted elsewhere, and the money never reappeared. Although the bowels of the earth might have retained a considerable quantity of the specie of the country, yet this could be but little compared to the immense sums which the corrupting influence of Catherine sent out of her dominions during the last ten years of her reign, to raise insurrections among the Greeks, and to buy fortresses from the generals of the enemy; since this was a very common method of extending her conquests.

Those who could betray their country in Poland were bought over in Sweden. The defection of the King's army, and the conspiracy of Baron Armfeld, were carried on at the expense of Russia, to which may be added the millions sent to the army of the Condé, to stir up enemies against France, and to construct fresh plots.

The prodigious multiplication of assignats, and the progressive adulteration of the gold and silver coin, became so fatal to the finances of Russia, that the rouble fell fell far beyond its intrinsic value on the Exchanges of London and Amsterdam.

The inexhaustible resources which the Tzarina derived from a country and a people as yet in a state of infancy, the extreme luxury of her Court, the wealth and princely grandeur of her favourites, the glorious exploits of her armies, and the gigantic views of her ambition, threw Europe into astonished admiration, and those monarchs who had been too proud to pay each other the slightest deference, felt no humiliation in making a *lady* the arbitress of their interests, and the regulator of their measures.

Some time previous to the death of Catherine, the monuments of her reign resembled so many wrecks and dilapidations, many things had been begun which were now given up—canals, towns, fortresses, &c.

The almanac of St. Petersburgh gave a list of upwards of two hundred and forty towns founded by Catherine, the greater part of which were paltry hamlets, some of them going to decay, others were merely staked out to indicate their intended site, and were never begun. It was quite a mania with the Empress to plan every thing and complete nothing, which drew from the Emperor Joseph II. the following witty remark, when invited by her to place the second stone of the town of Ekaterinoslof, of which her Majesty had with great parade laid the first :—" I have finished in a single day a very important business with the Empress of Russia ; she has laid the first stone of a city, and I have laid the last."

Medals were struck in honour of numerous edifices that had never been built, amongst others was an intended marble church, which the Emperor Paul caused to be finished with brick. But there are some monuments of the munificence and taste of the Empress which are likely to endure to the end of her fame, such as the equestrian statue of Peter the Great, and the superb granite quay of the Neva, likewise splendid galleries for the fine arts, palaces, and hospitals, which will ever commemorate her reign.

We shall now pass from the splendours of the sovereign to the vices of the woman, which forms the most disagreeable province of the historian, but they must not be omitted, since the private life of Catherine was so notorious to all the world ; nor can we forget the terrible

usurpation by which she attained the pinnacle of her greatness; and, seemingly, never was crime so triumphant. But she fell from her high estate into a Milesian abyss of crime, when she seemed to glory in her shame, and the interior of her Court presented a scene of dissipation revolting to manners as well as to morality. The increase of her years destroyed many of her great qualities, and she became suspicious, timid, and narrow-minded. She was obstinately attached to her own opinion, and tenacious to a degree of her power; her prejudices were very strong, and, when once fixed, were immoveable; she became jealous and capricious at last, which made her service difficult, contrasting strongly with what it had formerly been, when she was the most easy and pleasing mistress to serve.

Catherine was the first female Sovereign in Europe who dared public opinion, by installing her lover in distinct posts, with peculiar privileges and emoluments; she was deeply imbued with the libertinism of the French school, nor scorned to conceal it. The office of favourite or lover had now become a regular "appanage" of the court—his title was "aide-de-camp general," that so he might accompany the Empress every where, without offence to propriety. He had apartments in the palace, with a splendid allowance for his table and his toilette of 100,000 roubles per month.

At his installation, he received a magnificent present of 100,000 roubles, to buy over his attachment to the Empress, whom he was obliged to accompany every where, nor could he go out of the palace without asking her consent, or dare to talk to any woman beside herself. She looked to him for the support of her throne, and to assist her in carrying out her despotic power,

both despising, and, at the same time, scorning public decency. The appointment of favourite was no more offensive at the Russian court than was that of a general in the army where profligacy was so patronised and encouraged as to put to the blush even that of the ancient French *régime*. The moral turpitude of Russia during this reign, was perhaps unequalled by any country, although its prosperity, both home and foreign, was never more conspicuous. Twelve individuals succeeded each other in the post of favourite, which became the first in the state. Some of them displayed ambition, audacity, and, above all, self-sufficiency, and obtained such vast influence and ascendency over the mind of Catherine, that when dismissed from their personal attendance, they were thought worthy of serving the empire in public offices; and it is remarkable that none of them incurred her hatred or her vengeance, though several had offended her on quitting their office. Those whom she discarded were sent into foreign countries to display her presents and dissipate her bounty, after which they returned to enjoy her liberalities in their own country.

Of the twelve individuals that occupied the post of "favourite," Gregory Orloff was perhaps the first in Catherine's esteem. He had been devoted to her service, and had materially assisted her to the throne, and had also, on many subsequent occasions, most essentially served his Sovereign. Whether influenced by gratitude, or from real affection for this imperious favourite, it is said that Catherine offered him private marriage, which he refused, aspiring to nothing less than sharing her throne. He was immediately dismissed, by being ordered on his travels through various parts of Europe; and, in compensation for his dismissal, he received

100,000 roubles, a "*brevet*" for a pension of 150,000 roubles, a magnificent service of plate, and an estate with six thousand peasants. For this celebrated favourite a marble palace was erected, with the inscription, "To grateful friendship." A large medal was struck on occasion of the journey which he undertook to restore order at Moscow, when he was instrumental in stopping the ravages of the plague. The palace of Gatchina was another monument to Prince Orloff. Twelve years' intimacy added to the haughtiness of the lover, who, at length, wearied his Sovereign. He had already obtained the title of Prince of the Empire, and Catherine was desirous that he should appear in the eyes of foreign nations with a splendour worthy of the situation which he had enjoyed. His dismissal was hailed by all around with great joy, since, proud of the favour of his Sovereign, he had borne himself with such arrogance as caused him a great many enemies; even to Catherine herself his conduct had become so insupportable that she had before frequently dismissed him, and as frequently recalled him, but this last insult was final, nor was he evermore to bask in the royal favour. He married his niece, and lived for some time with that semblance of happiness which wealth can bestow; but he died miserably in the month of April, 1783.

Some time before his decease, he became a sad spectacle of insanity, and by his ravings struck terror into all that heard him, and plunged Catherine herself into the bitterness of grief. There were five brothers Orloff, Gregory, Alexis, Vlodomir, Feodor, and Ivan, all of whom were promoted to high ranks in the military and naval service of the country. Count Alexis Orloff commanded the Russian fleet at the battle of Tchesmé,

already alluded to. He was munificently rewarded by his Sovereign for the greatest naval victory which had yet distinguished the annals of Russia, although its success was principally due to the British captains, Elphinstone and Greig, who were raised to the rank of Russian admirals.

But to return to the court of Catherine—Plato Zuboff was another of the favourites of the Empress, a young lieutenant in the horse guards patronised by Nicholas Soltikoff. He spoke French fluently, and had some education; he was of a polite and easy disposition, of middle size, had a high intelligent forehead, with fine eyes, but a supercilious air. Zuboff obtained his Sovereign's favour when at Tzarsko-zelo. He was named "aide-de-camp" to the Empress; and received a present of 100,000 roubles to furnish his toilet, and was installed in the apartment of the favourites with the customary advantages. The next day this young man was seen familiarly offering his arm to his Sovereign, equipped in his new uniform, with a large hat and feather on his head, attended by his patron and the great men of the empire, who walked behind him with their hats off, though the day before he had danced attendance in their antechambers. Next day, the saloons of the new idol were filled with aged generals and ministers of long service, all bowing the knee before him. The treasures of the empire were lavished upon him, and the conduct of the Empress was sanctioned by the meanness and shameful assiduities of her courtiers.

At the death of one of her favourites, Lanskoi, the Empress was so affected that she sunk into a state of despondency. She shut herself up in her apartments,

admitting scarcely any one into her presence but the sister of Lanskoi; and she fed her melancholy by visiting the tomb which she had erected to his memory at Tzarsko-zelo. All business was suspended. At this crisis Prince Potemkin arrived from the Krimea, and remonstrated against her weakness in such strong terms, that she burst into tears, and complained to Lanskoi's sister of his harsh and unfeeling conduct. His importunities, however, finally prevailed, and one evening she hastily quitted Tzarsko-zelo and repaired to the capital, where her grief gradually subsided. Catherine never forgot Potemkin's frankness; she frequently declared her obligations to him, and loaded him with honours.

Such was the profligacy of the Russian court during the reign of Catherine, from the example set by the Sovereign, that it became a machinery of intrigue, where the females would often make the first advances. From the coarse licentiousness of Catherine's life, the corruption extended throughout the empire, since nothing escaped the notice and imitation of the people. When the Sovereign is considered to be the fountain of honour and the arbiter of life, the immoralities of the government must reach the governed, and may be claimed almost as their excuse.

Catherine had a magnificent taste for the fine arts. She purchased the Houghton collection of pictures for something more than £35,000, and likewise the choice and costly French library of Diderot, paying what was asked, and leaving the price to himself. She appointed Diderot her librarian, with a pension of one hundred pistoles per annum. The Empress patronised the literary men both of France and Germany, principally those who were avowed infidels, one of whom, Diderot, she in-

vited to educate her son, the Tzarovitch, but he declined the distinguished honour. The new capital progressed with imperial magnificence; the institutions in it, founded and endowed by the Empress, were not only splendid, but salutary—the different canals were completed, and ornamental bridges thrown over them—thus, almost magical improvements sprung up in the new city, which in little more than seventy years had sprung out of the bogs of Ingria.

The court of Catherine may be deemed to have excelled in magnificence any other in Europe, since it combined Asiatic pomp with European luxury. On grand occasions, and more particularly on festivals, the processions were most splendid. She was surrounded by numerous persons, whose rich and sparkling clothes, covered with a profusion of precious stones, gave an effect of brilliancy which must have been seen to be rightly imagined. Her court was attended by all the female beauty, by young persons of talent, by greyheaded commanders and able politicians, and with a crowd of high nobility, who, by their affability and polished manners, rendered their society extremely agreeable. On the great ceremonial days, the Empress would dine in public, where she made a brilliant appearance, with her diamond crown of immense value, and decorated with the ribbons of St. Andrew and St. George over one shoulder. She likewise wore the collars of St. Alexander Nevsky, St. Catherine, and St. Vlodemir, with stars, one above the other, on her breast, as grand mistress of these orders; and her majesty would give grand festivities during the winter by having masquerades at the palace, to which persons of all ranks might come. More than eight thousand tickets were sometimes issued,

and such was the vast space to receive them, that no inconvenience from pressure was felt in the twenty magnificent halls, splendidly illuminated, which were open to receive the guests; the middle one was appropriated to the nobility, where tea and refreshments were served; there were likewise card tables, to which all persons might sit down without ceremony.

Of the religious sentiments or practices of the Empress Catherine, we may state that she had imbibed the principles of the French philosophers respecting religion, and regarded all forms of worship with indifference, if not with contempt. She supported Islamism in the Krimea, the Catholic faith in Poland, and the Pagans had likewise her protection. She affected to have great devotion towards images, and was frequently seen to prostrate herself before the door of the chapel, to take up the dust from the ground, and scatter it over the diamond crown on her head. At one time an image of the Virgin, covered with diamonds, of which the Empress Elizabeth had made her a present at her confirmation, and which she had placed in the chapel, was stolen. All the officers of police were set in motion to discover so daring a thief, but in vain. "Alas!" said Catherine, "it is not the loss of the diamonds, but the holy image, I regret—I would give double its value to recover it." Her prayers were heard; and after great search had been made, and several persons had been imprisoned, the image was found in the course of a few days, stripped of its valuable ornaments, in the snow near the Admiralty. Catherine, delighted at her good fortune, rewarded him who brought it, directed the image to be arrayed more richly than before, and to be replaced with great ceremony on the altar.

But, contrasting the vanity of the Empress with her humility, Catherine was very fond of being compared to Minerva, for she had been persuaded that she resembled the effigy of that goddess on the Greek medals. All the pieces which were addressed to her by the authors who were acquainted with this weakness in her, were filled with allusions to this supposed resemblance. Catherine had herself embroidered, drawn, engraved, painted, carved, and sculptured every where as Minerva, and the artists took the utmost pains when representing her under this form. But with all the splendour of her court, the glory of her empire, and the blandishments of her person, this great Sovereign could find no real peace from disquietudes, which frequently disturbed her when looking back upon the path by which she had attained these objects of her ambition. She had trampled over the most sacred rights, and sacrificed the nearest ties; yet she was the greatest sovereign that Russia had ever witnessed. Catherine was fitted to be at the head of a despotic state; her game was a brilliant one; nor was the pupil of Voltaire scrupulous in her manner of playing it, for it may be said that she feared neither God nor man; but, amidst all her pomp and glory, conscience could not be silenced, giving proof that something "lodged within her bosom to prick and sting her." She provided for her personal safety, by instituting "Palace Chamber Guards," quite a new institution in Russia, consisting of sixty men, carefully chosen from amongst old officers, under the command of a chamberlain that could be well relied upon—they were always near the imperial apartments.

In the night the Empress would often leave her bed, and sometimes her room, a striking proof that "uneasy

lies the head that wears a crown." Towards her latter days, she showed the most pusillanimous fears at the merest trifling events; and superstition seems to have seized her once great mind, who had shown so much courage in her varied career. On the faith of a prediction that some great personage was to die in 1796, she took it to herself, and was much affected by it. The phenomenon which appeared in the heavens, one day that she was assisting at a fête of one of her nobles, inspired her with such terror that she could not conceal it, and for several days after she dwelt on the subject.

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Catherine is dead, but her fame survives, and she must be placed in the first rank of those who, by their genius, their talent, and especially their success, have attracted the admiration of mankind. Her sex gave a bold relief to the great qualities which she displayed on the throne, and places her, above all comparison, as the greatest female Sovereign in the pages of history.

## CHAPTER VII.

Accession of the Emperor Paul—His triumphal Entry into the Capital —His Education, Talents, Acquirements, and Disposition—His Marriages—Paul's Eccentricities—Early Acts of his Reign—Orders the Remains of his Father to be Disinterred—The Body transferred to the Palace—The Remains of Peter III. and Catherine II. Lying in State together—The two Regicides, Orloff and Baratinsky, attend the Funeral as Chief Mourners—The Emperor's Military Mania —Suddenly dismisses his Ministers—Propitiates the Army—Slavish obedience to the Sovereign—Anecdote of Madame Demeth—Releases the brave Kosciusko from imprisonment—Invites the King of Poland to St. Petersburgh—His Majesty's Entertainment in the Capital—His Death—The Emperor's dislike to a round Hat—Regulations for Dress and for Harnessing Horses—Paul's horror of the French Revolution—Offers an Asylum to Louis XVIII.—Reduced state of the Finances of Russia—The Kingdom of Georgia annexed to the Russian Empire—The Expedition to Persia abandoned by the Emperor—Paul refuses to ratify the Treaty of Catherine II. against France—Recalls Suwarrow from the Command of the Army—Enters into the Coalition against France—Suwarrow's return to Moscow— Again appointed to Command the Army—His Successes against the French—Rewarded by the Emperor—Paul's Domestic Government— His Coronation—Builds the Castle of St. Michael—The Empress Maria—The Emperor's Valet, Ivan Paulovitch Kotousoff.

THE Emperor Paul made his triumphal entry into St. Petersburgh the day after the decease of Catherine II., viz., the 11th November, 1796, amidst the acclamations of the people, and was solemnly proclaimed with the title of Paul I., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias. His wife was the first to throw herself at his feet, with all her children; he raised them up, embraced, and assured them of his paternal kindness and imperial

favour. The nobility and chiefs of the army presented themselves to take the oath of allegiance, when the Emperor repaired to the senate, and the same day the Grand Duke Alexander was proclaimed Tzarovitch and presumptive heir to the throne.

The ill treatment of Catherine to her son has been already noticed—that she kept him at a distance from her, surrounded him with spies, and exposed him to every sort of humiliation, as to financial difficulties. Catherine, whose magnificence astonished the Universe, and who gave roubles by millions to her favourites, left her son and grandson almost in want of necessaries. Thirty thousand roubles was the allowance for a Grand Duke (£2500); sometimes they were given in gold, sometimes in silver; but those who had the management of the revenues of the young Princes took care to filter them well, so that they were diminished by nearly a half. The Empress, not satisfied with depriving the Grand Duke of the rights and prerogatives which he should have enjoyed as her son, endeavoured to take from him even those of a father; his children were brought up under her authority, nor was he allowed to have any control over their education or conduct. Thus she strove to alienate the children from their parent, whom they scarcely knew. It might have been expected that the Empress would grant him at least the dues of a parent and the claim of a son, all of which were denied him. To his children he appeared timid and imbecile, instead of inspiring them with respect; and whilst others were basking in court favour, acquiring honours and making fortunes, the heir to the throne was banished from the court by the cruelty of his mother, and exposed to every sort of humiliation. Paul, far from

imitating the conduct which she had held towards him, immediately called his sons about him, entrusted each of them with the command of a regiment of Guards, and made the eldest military governor of St. Petersburgh, an important post, which chained the young Prince to his father's side. The Emperor's first conduct towards his wife surprised and delighted every one, since he suddenly changed his behaviour towards her, and assigned her a considerable revenue, and the same to his children in proportion, loading his family with caresses and kindnesses.

The infancy of the Grand Duke had been entrusted to Count Panin, and under him to M. D'Osterieulde, a Livonian gentleman; from the latter he received a very competent notion of the interior government of the country, and from the Count a tolerable one of the modern history of Europe. A great part of his time was employed in learning to dance, to ride, and to talk French; but his person was ugly and his address awkward. Being brought up in a state of complete subordination to the Empress, he feared more than loved his mother; no one was allowed to be near him but such as were appointed by her, who was so jealous of admitting him to power, that some persons doubted his capacity for government; and, although he held the titles of Generalissimo of the Army and Grand Admiral of the Fleet, yet he was never permitted to head a regiment, nor was allowed to visit the fleet at Cronstadt. There were not wanting those around him who sought to lead him to rebel against his mother's authority, which was so sternly imposed, reminding him by what means she had attained the sovereign power, and how very practicable it was to follow her example; but he spurned all such suggestions, and, much to his honour, never forgot

the respect that was due to the Empress as his sovereign, and the duty due to his mother. He showed the most implicit obedience to her will, both from filial reverence and as a faithful subject; but the temper of the Grand Duke was so much tried by the restraints laid upon him, that it would sometimes escape the bounds of reason, although he was capable of the most amiable impressions had they been cultivated.

His first wife found out the art of governing him; his amusements and companions were entirely directed by her; and his moral conduct from the time of his marriage was irreproachable. The character of his second wife was very different from the first. The Princess Maria is described as of the most amiable disposition, mild, and gentle, and of most enduring patience, which had been tried occasionally by rigorous treatment from her husband; her time was employed in a succession of duties suited to her high station, and the education of her children, when they were not separated from her by the Empress, was the source of her greatest happiness.

Her attention to her husband enabled her to endure the most fatiguing exercises, by accompanying him on horseback, sometimes exhausted with fatigue, or drenched with rain, or covered with snow, whilst attending him at his weary reviews of Gatchina and Pavlosky. The Princess is described as being rather handsome than pretty, tall and majestic, with less wit than sentiment; she was a dutiful daughter, an affectionate sister, as well as a faithful wife and excellent mother; the grand Duke and Duchess generally lived in the greatest harmony; and they were supposed to be mutually fond of each other. Paul Petrovitch was temperate in his food, and still more so in drinking, and by his regular life he

strengthened a constitution naturally infirm. Although he had no superior capacity, yet he was by no means devoid of a good understanding. With certain fickleness in his affections and timidity in his actions, still it was predicted of him that he would not be unequal to govern the Empire of Russia; and the new sovereign soon showed an energy of mind, and activity of body, of which his subjects scarcely thought him capable, and, as if to make retribution to himself for the past, he at once began to subvert the whole policy of Catherine.

Before proceeding with the history of the reign of the Emperor Paul, and having briefly traced his character, as formed by education, prejudices, and habits of life, from whence spring the events which we have now to record; it is noticeable, in this and other respects, the great similarity between the Grand Duke and his father, Peter the Third; so that, changing names and dates, the early history of the one may be almost taken for that of the other. They were both educated in complete ignorance of business, residing at a distance from court, where they were treated as prisoners of state rather than as heirs to the crown, making their appearance from time to time more as aliens than as royal Dukes. Peter's aunt (Elizabeth) acted precisely as the mother of the son had done; the endeavours of each were directed seemingly to perpetuate their insignificance, and even to render them odious and contemptible to the soldiers and the people.

Both princes had a sort of soldier mania upon them, which they carried to a ridiculous excess. Peter fancied that he had taken Frederick for his model; he was fond of soldiers and arms, and knew nothing but

how to exercise a regiment, and never went out but in a captain's uniform. They were both likewise distinguished by great activity of body, and great apathy of mind; by a restlessness which, for want of proper objects, almost degenerated into turbulence;—that of the father was sunk in debauchery, that of the son in the most insignificant trifles. An unconquerable aversion to study and reflection, gave to both of them that singular infatuation for military puerilities, which would have probably displayed itself less forcibly in Paul had he witnessed the ridicule it drew upon Peter; the education of Paul was, however, more attended to than that of his father. His sometimes uncertain and fluctuating conduct confounded those who had previously admired him—for, even with all his eccentricities, he had his admirers; his mode of proceeding involved him in such a labyrinth of business as to confound, not only himself, but every one around him. To report all the ordinances which succeeded each other within a week would be a tedious detail of follies, since they chiefly concerned the most frivolous and trifling subjects, which frequently contradicted one another. Paul, on assuming the imperial mantle, thought that he might govern the great Empire of Russia as when Grand Duke he had governed at Pavlosky, his capital like his house, and thirty millions of men, of all ranks and nations, like his lackeys and body guards. In the changes which he made both in military and civil affairs, his plan was to *alter* not to *improve*; for any thing which had existed under the reign of the Empress, he condemned at once, including the tribunals and the different governments of the Empire. This public affront to the memory of his mother was the glory of Paul; the changes which he made induced the utmost confusion, wretchedness, and ruin to

those whom it affected, and by which upwards of twenty thousand people were thrown out of employ. The eagerness with which Paul seized the government, and the terror inspired by his rigour and activity, checked the intrigues of the depredators who had misapplied the treasures of the state to their own profit. Paul surrounded himself with better people than his mother had done; amongst them was a Turk, formerly his barber. This person, whom he had raised to the highest military rank, and had given him the name of Ivan Paulovitch Kotousoff, served him faithfully, and the generals and great men were eager to pay their court to him as the fountain of the Emperor's private favour.

It appears that Paul always entertained some jealousy of his son Alexander during the latter days of his mother, and that he had some suspicion of an intended favour towards his son by the Empress, to his own prejudice as regarded the succession. He therefore behaved coldly towards him, and as much as possible detained him about his person on the most frivolous pretences; he surrounded him with officers on whom he thought he could rely. The amiable disposition of the young Prince induced the strictest obedience to his father's commands from a principle of duty rather than from affection; his humanity acquired him the hearts of the soldiers and the gratitude of the officers, for he was the constant mediator between the Autocrat and those who fell under his displeasure, who on some trifling neglect may have provoked the imperial wrath or vengeance.

Nature had endowed Alexander with the most amiable qualities; but his character, though amiable, was passive. He wanted the courage and energy to discover a man of merit; always modest and unobtrusive, he

yielded so easily to the impulses of others, that he did not sufficiently consult his own heart and understanding, which, in his character of heir to the greatest Empire in the world, he might have been expected to do. During the last illness of the Empress Catherine, and for some time before her death, Alexander was detained about the person of his father, being scarcely allowed an hour in the day to visit his wife, the Grand Duchess. The first confidence which Paul seems to have placed in his son at the beginning of his reign, was to appoint him military governor of St. Petersburg; but then he placed over him the ferocious Araktchoff as guardian, who was in fact the real governor. The Emperor liberally augmented the Grand Duke's allowance from £3000 a year to £20,000, at the same time entertaining some doubt of his allegiance, by keeping him about his person the whole day, evidently with the view of watching him. His younger brother, Constantine, did not possess the agreeble prepossessions of Alexander; he resembled more the features of his father, and had similar eccentricities, passions, and frivolities, with his boisterous turbulence; but he did not possess the information which his father had acquired. He was of a violent temper, and would think nothing of striking the officers on parade, or knocking out the teeth of the poor soldiers.

In the early part of his reign, Paul endeavoured to establish a correspondence between himself and his subjects, by ordering a sort of office to be constructed on the stairs of the palace, where every one might deposit letters or petitions to his Imperial Majesty, who gave public notice that he would read them all, make the necessary inquiries, and then answer them; but heretofore, and even under the reign of Catherine, whoever

had the audacity to prefer a request to the sovereign was sent to prison. Paul not only abolished this custom, but would even condescend to take some papers that were offered to him; at length they became so numerous, and the State letter-office was filled to such an excess, that the Tzar, finding more petitions than he could enter into the merits of, was frightened at the number, and gave orders for discontinuing the office. Things then returned to their former chaotic state, and the people were obliged to seek redress where they had formerly sought it.

The Emperor instituted a strict search for those who had been in the confidence of his father, Peter III., they having retired into private life from the period of his assassination. Several of Peter's officers were recalled to court and treated with great distinction; amongst them was the old Baron Sternberg, who was at once made a General-in-Chief, and decorated with the order of St. Alexander. Paul endeavoured to form a court of those old friends of his father's; for, at the time of his accession, he had no other partisans than the small number of persons discontented with the late government. By his education, Paul had been in some measure prepared for the responsible duties to which he was now called, and had even in his retirement, in order to avert the confusion which had previously taken place on the demise of a Sovereign, regulated the future succession to the crown in his own family, even before he had any crown to devise. But, although he projected great changes in the government, he proceeded with caution; he continued for a time her late Majesty's ministers in office, and bestowed marks of his imperial favour on the most influential of them, particularly Count Zuboff, to whom he said, on de-

livering him the cane of command, "Continue to execute those functions entrusted to you by my mother; I hope you will serve me as faithfully as you have served her."

The Emperor's first ukase announced pacific dispositions with foreign states. The levy of recruits which had been ordered by Catherine was annulled, and every day produced some wise alteration, just punishment, or merited favour; so that both the court and the city were struck with astonishment, and people began to think that they had all along mistaken his character, and found themselves happily deceived in their expectations; the conduct of the Grand Duke was at once forgotten in that of the Emperor. He secured to his interests all those whom he thought would assist in carrying out those plans of government which, without loss of time, he began to develop, and there were many traits in his character which seemed to indicate a noble and elevated soul.

But what of all things most astonished his subjects, was the reproach which he cast on the memory of his mother in every possible way that he thought would gain him popularity, by sending, previous to her funeral, to the convent of St. Alexander Nevsky, where the remains of his father had been interred, and going in person to the convent, causing the old monks to show him the private grave, and to open the coffin in his presence, when he paid to the sad remains that still presented themselves the tribute of respectful and affecting tears. He took one of the gloves that covered the bones of his father's hand, and kissed it several times whilst weeping; the coffin was placed on tressels in the middle of the church, after which it was transported with great pomp to the palace, where it lay in state by

the side of that of Catherine, in a temple constructed expressly for the purpose; the Imperial Crown was placed upon it, and the two coffins were united with a wreath having this inscription, "divided in life, united in death;" they were then exposed to the public gaze for three days. People came with great respect to kiss the coffin of the one, and the cold and void hand of the other, and, after making their obeisance, were obliged to retire backwards.

The body of the Empress had been badly embalmed, and soon appeared disfigured; the eyes, hands, and lower part of the face were black, blue, and yellow. Those who had seen her in public would have scarcely recognised her, and all the pomp with which she was surrounded, all the riches that covered her corpse, only served to augment the horror which it inspired. The Emperor confided the ceremony of interment to the old Baron Sternberg, the attached friend of his father, and, shewing him a picture of Peter III. (which he had carefully concealed, since for thirty-five years his pictures had been proscribed, and his name never heard at St. Petersburgh except in whispers), he directed him to do his duty by his father's body, and to provide for himself a similar uniform to what he had worn when aide-de-camp to Peter III.; the Baron was lucky enough to find such a one in the possession of an old acquaintance. Paul wished to see and preserve the relic himself, which made the fortune of him who had so well preserved it. For eight days the remains of the murdered Sovereign and those of his usurper consort lay side by side, exposed to the public view. Paul was unable to bring the murderers of his father to the scaffold, but he wreaked upon them all the vengeance that was then possible, by compelling the

only two that remained, viz., Count Alexis Orloff and Count Baratinsky, to watch every night the remains of their Sovereign whom they had murdered, and their countenances betrayed such remorse that Orloff trembled and Baratinsky fainted. They were obliged to attend the funeral as chief mourners; the gigantic height and remarkable figure of the former, walking in procession, attracted the attention of every person, as with slow and faltering steps, his eyes fixed on the ground, his hands folded, and his face pale as death, he followed next to the coffin, which, with that of the late Empress, was drawn upon low chariots by horses—next to the regicides walked the Emperor, certainly manifesting, by the sublime though mysterious sacrifice to the manes of his father, a devotion of a sacred character. Orloff was ordered to quit St. Petersburg, and Baratinsky died a few days after. The bodies were conveyed to the Churches of St. Peter and Paul, to be interred in the Royal Mausoleum, and during the procession great execration of the multitude was drawn down upon the regicides.

It is difficult to define the motives which induced Paul thus to cast such a stain on the memory of his mother, whether from an affectation of filial piety to the father, or to silence the suspicions respecting his birth; it looked like a melancholy revenge on the Empress, to mingle the bodies when dead which had been separated when living, and to restore to dignity the corpse of her husband, whom she had sacrificed to her criminal ambition.

The sudden death of the Empress suspended the execution of those measures which had been previously adopted, and occasioned a complete interruption to all the functions of government, until the will and disposi-

tion of the new Sovereign had been manifested; who, called suddenly from exile to absolute power—from the drilling a garrison to wielding the destinies of an Empire—occasioned an intense anxiety amongst his subjects, lest this change of fortune, which raised him to the throne, might find him totally unprepared to fill so high a station. But Paul soon gave proofs that he was not deficient in conception of imagination, although some reasons existed to doubt the solidity of his judgment, and the well-wishers to a regular government cherished the idea that he would become a great Sovereign for Russia. The first measures of the new Tzar were considered to be so wise and just in their tendency, that he soon won the confidence of his subjects.

Paul's active mind was constantly occupied with military affairs; he had a passion for rigorous discipline, and had prepared a complete code of military regulations, such as he had put in execution at Gatchina and Pavlosky, extending even to the dress and accoutrements of the soldiers. He now determined to carry them out with the troops in the capital. His love of military parade displayed itself to an almost incredible excess. St. Petersburgh was at once converted into a garrison town; pickets were planted in every street; the whole circumference of the city was enclosed by palisades; and the gates guarded to prevent all communication from without, till a sufficient examination had taken place. The military establishments suddenly became from one of the easiest to the severest service; the strictest conformity was required to frivolous and scarcely intelligible orders; and officers of the highest rank, and of the most distinguished merit, were dismissed with infamy for the merest accidental omissions, or subjected to the direc-

tion of officers whom they would with reluctance in times of actual danger have commanded. The civil departments of government were subject to the same regulations, and the strictest discipline prevailed throughout, which inspired more terror than respect. So indefatigable was the Tzar, that he would attend himself, exposed to extreme cold; for he was punctually to be found in the coldest mornings in open court, attired in a deep green uniform, with large boots and a huge hat, many hours at a time, sometimes bareheaded, obliging his sons and his attendants to conform to the same discipline.

He viewed with jealousy the power of the guards, as the ringleaders, if not the originators, of the revolutions against the throne; and deemed their power to be incompatible with the safety of that throne, but was afraid to disband them. Some of them were, therefore, incorporated into different regiments, and inferior officers were appointed to the remainder of the corps, thus in every way subjecting the guards to the greatest indignities. He weakened their power; and could at the same time advance his friends to military rank, since a captain in the guards was equal to a colonel in the army. This occasioned great discontent amongst the old veteran regiments; many of the officers threw up their commissions. Those connected with noble families felt greatly aggrieved at seeing plebeians put over them, who a short time before had served in the ranks; the men complained of the harassing discipline under the new regulations, which their commanders most unrelentingly enforced, and particularly since they were obliged to abandon their splendid uniforms for the plain dress of the corps of Gatchina. This was the first blow to the popularity of the new Emperor,

which was further weakened by his arbitrary conduct towards those who retired from the guards; for he was alarmed at their withdrawing, and feared that several hundred officers would carry with them into private life disaffection to his government; he ordered them within twenty-four hours to quit St. Petersburgh. As most of the officers had their families in the capital, it seemed to them a most unjust command, and a beginning of that despotism to which they had not been accustomed; those who disobeyed his orders were forced out of their beds, and driven outside the gates, where many perished from the cold.

But another cause tended to injure the Emperor most seriously with his subjects; he capriciously dismissed all his ministers soon after he had confirmed them in their appointments. Count Plato Zuboff, formerly the favourite of Catherine, was suddenly discarded with his secretaries. The Grand Duke Constantine was ordered by his father to deprive him of his commissions, and to drive him into banishment with the whole train of his dependants. The Count had played an important part in the former reign, when his power was paramount, at which time the Grand Duke Paul had bowed before him, and his son Constantine had been one of his most servile flatterers. But now the scene was changed, and the Count was, by the same Grand Duke, peremptorily ordered to leave Russia. The greater the injury, the greater the resentment; and so it proved with Count Zuboff, who was one of the principal actors of the termination of this reign. Many other instances may be adduced of the tyrannous proceedings of Paul, such as imprisoning the Attorney-General in the fortress without a cause being assigned for it, soon after he had granted him a large estate, with

four thousand peasants. In this way did the impetuous temper of the new Emperor break forth in the most extravagant acts; he burst the fetters of the yoke which he had so long borne with impatience, and affected a contempt for all the ordinary usages of government. Absolute power in his hands proved that dangerous engine which not only threatened the destruction of the empire, but soon proved his own downfall.

On ascending the throne, Paul hoped to gain over the army by his extraordinary diligence in attending to the details of their comforts and discipline. He went to the barracks, flattering them with encouraging promises; but his conduct towards the guards completely alienated the army from him, for he was not only arbitrary, but capricious, and without any principle of action. Power was so new to him, that it appeared almost to affect his intellect, even in small matters, which some of his conduct seemed to prove. It had been formerly the custom, that when the Sovereign of Russia, or his wife, or son, appeared in the street, for every one to alight from his horse or carriage, and to kneel down in the snow or mud until they had passed. This barbarous homage to the Russian Sovereign had been abolished during the reign of Catherine II.; but Paul re-established it in all its rigour, and many were the victims of imprisonment or disgrace to those who may happen immediately to fail in paying him this respect, of which one almost incredible instance is related.

Madame Demeth was going in great haste for the doctor to attend the bed of her dying husband. The Emperor in his carriage was coming rapidly by the same street; either she did not see him, or from some other cause she failed to pay him the necessary

respect. He became furious, and immediately despatched an "aide-de-camp" to stop her carriage, when he ordered the four servants to be made soldiers, and the impertinent lady to be sent to prison at the police office. The unfortunate woman was shut up for four days, which treatment so affected her, from being obliged to leave her husband, that she became insane. The husband, abandoned without help, and deprived of his wife and servants, died in despair of ever seeing them again. Other tyrannies of the Emperor are too numerous to dwell upon—they served to alienate his subjects from their allegiance, who began to groan under his despotism. His favours and his displeasures were most arbitrarily disposed of amongst his courtiers and dependants, yet some traits of his character are to be admired. On some occasions, Paul showed great nobleness of spirit, which captivated the people, and gave them hopes of a beneficent reign. As one of his amiabilities, he took pity on the unfortunate Poles lying in the dungeons to which they had been consigned by the Empress Catherine; amongst them the brave Kosciusko was yet suffering from his wounds, and wearing out life in exile. He released all the captives, and, as a particular mark of favour to the brave Kosciusko, he went in person to announce to him his liberation, and he was soon removed to the palace, where he was presented to the Empress. Paul offered him an estate in Russia, with numerous serfs; but he begged to decline the Sovereign's bounty, and asked his permission to retire to America. After passing some time in the United States, Kosciusko lived many years in retirement in the neighbourhood of Paris. In 1814, he wrote to the Emperor Alexander in favour of the Poles, asking for an amnesty for all

exiles, for a free constitution like that of England to be given to Poland, and that schools might be founded for the education of the serfs; he retired from France to Soleure, in Switzerland, where he closed his honourable career in 1817.

The Emperor was indefatigable in his new duties of government; but the military organization and improvement more particularly engrossed his attention, in which he would descend to the small things belonging only to a drill-sergeant. He was surrounded with models of arms and uniforms of all sorts; the form of a hat, the colour of a plume, the boots, the gaiters, and similar trifles, these absorbed his wonderful activity. Sometimes orders were issued, and immediately recalled, and the most contradictory regulations attempted, which completely bewildered those who had to carry them out—his mind seemed to be continually conflicting with itself. Amongst his other frivolities, Paul issued a particular ukase, in which he prescribed at full length the manner in which he chose to be styled, when he took the titles of the ancient principalities; and those by which he was to be addressed, even in a petition, were sufficient to fill a whole page.

Paul, soon after his accession, required the presence of the King of Poland at St. Petersburgh from Grodno, the place appointed by the late Empress for his retirement. Whether the Emperor feared the revolt of the Polish provinces whilst the King remained so near them, or whether he was desirous of gratifying his vanity by keeping a sovereign, both *set up* and *deposed* at the imperial will of Russia, as a pageant in his court, Stanislaus was obliged to comply with the royal command, and he came to St. Petersburgh accordingly.

The King of Poland entered the capital in the month of March, 1797, on the Peterhoff road, and as much sympathy was manifested for the fallen monarch as was compatible with the strict and iron rule over public opinion. During his first winter in that capital, he was treated with every respect and attention by the Imperial family. His amiability led him to share frequently, and with apparent satisfaction, the amusements which the nobles of Russia were ready to propose for a stranger with splendour and profusion; and the only distinction that could be noticed of him was, that he was the most amiable man in the society. The Emperor appointed Count Stackleberg to wait upon him, who had been sent by Catherine to Poland on an embassy to the King, over whom he reigned, and had treated with the greatest indignity. The Count's humiliation must no doubt have been great, when named by Paul lord of the bed-chamber in waiting to the same King of Poland, who had frequently danced attendance in his antechamber at Warsaw.

When the first effect of the King's arrival had subsided, and the Emperor had indulged himself in showing him attention in every way that his caprice suggested, he was subjected to the mortification of imperial neglect, and was forced into public for the purpose of being insulted. He was seen repeatedly at court, waiting for hours, unnoticed by the Sovereign—separated by his rank from the foreign ministers, every heart bleeding for his situation, and no one daring to approach him. He was dragged to witness the humiliating spectacle of the Emperor's coronation at Moscow, and compelled to hear the recital of the act by which part of his kingdom was incorporated with the Russian empire.

At the ceremony, oppressed by fatigue and agitation of spirits, he ventured to lean against his seat—the Emperor suspended the recital, and sent an "aide-de-camp" to order him to rise. Many other indignities were now heaped upon the unfortunate Stanislaus, the sun of the imperial favour being withdrawn from him; and, during the remainder of his life, the Emperor's displeasure fell on all those who ventured to form a part of his society, and by whom he was consequently deserted. The agonies of the King's mind are described by those who slept in the adjoining apartment as beyond all description. His rest was disturbed, and he was heard to groan most bitterly. He burst frequently into tears, and offered petitions to the throne of Heaven, which petrified with horror those who listened to him, though they did not dare to enter the room, or interrupt his sacred grief. Some few individuals, especially foreigners, clung round the unfortunate monarch. To the last, he seemed to consider every visit paid to him as a mark not only of attention, but as a proof of affection, which demanded his most grateful acknowledgments. For a few days before the King's death, he appeared to be in better spirits than usual—his mind seemed calm, and he entered with more apparent satisfaction into the relaxation of the society around him; but on the last evening that he appeared, he showed a more than usual composure, if not cheerfulness. He arranged a party for the ensuing evening, for the purpose of hearing a singer who had just arrived at St. Petersburgh.

The following morning the King had, at his usual hour, taken his coffee, and then retired to his cabinet, where he was seized with an apoplectic fit, and remained for some time without being discovered. He then ap-

peared for a short time to have recovered his recollection. He could not articulate, but uttered some sounds which were supposed by those near him to be an effort to call for his confessor. The priest was brought into the room, and said some prayers, in which the King appeared to join, till he relapsed into stupor, and shortly after every symptom of animation vanished. All hopes of recovery were at an end when medical assistance reached him, and he expired in a very few hours after his seizure, in May 1800.

In the afternoon, the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, and all his myrmidons, were busy in arranging the melancholy ceremonial of the funeral; the body was exposed in the cabinet where the King had breathed his last, and the Catholic priests were chanting the usual mass. The next day the body was embalmed, and afterwards exposed with the same forms that had been shown at the interment of the late Empress, the resemblance to whose countenance was said to have been very forcible even in death, and the resemblance to whose manner of death was very remarkable. They were both seized after breakfast on retiring to their cabinets, where they remained some time undiscovered—their complaints were exactly similar, a fit of apoplexy; the Empress had agreed to sign papers which would have brought Russia into the great field of active European policy; and the King of Poland was on the point of signing papers which were finally to settle the accounts of his late kingdom; and they both died in the same capital, though not in the same palace.

After being exposed in state for the usual time in the marble palace, the body was removed with military and royal honours to the Catholic church, which had been

prepared for its reception. The Emperor attended in person as Commander of the Guards, who were under arms on horseback at the gate of the palace, waiting for the appearance of the coffin. As soon as it approached, he uncovered, and saluted it as it passed. The body was deposited in the Catholic church, where mass was performed with great ceremony, with music for the first time, which had been composed by Kosbouriski at the King's request, a few weeks only before he died, and now introduced at the ceremony of his interment. The family of the King, after his death, retreated in various directions from St. Petersburgh, and his attendants were either taken into the Emperor's service, or received some trifling pension for the remainder of their lives. The King's effects were soon after his death sold by public auction, even his robes did not escape being thus exposed; but the Russians testified to a certain degree their respect for the King, by the sums which they paid for the remembrance of him; his little favourite horse sold for a considerable sum, and was bought by one of the ministers.

It would be tedious to repeat all the arbitrary caprices of the Emperor Paul, in the many small things which occupied the imperial mind as to dress, ceremonies, etiquette, &c. The greatest proof of zeal and merit which any one could give during the first days of his reign, was to appear before him in the uniform he had last introduced. An officer who could give his tailor a few hundred roubles to have a dress of the new fashion made in a few hours, and appear in it the next morning at the "Wachs parade," was almost certain of obtaining some post, or at least a cross. Some of them had no other merit, and employed no other means, to gain the good graces

of the Emperor. Paul was surrounded by patterns of accoutrements, and uniforms of all kinds, and was as expert in polishing a button as Louis XIV. was at making a lock, and nothing enraged him more than the least failure in military etiquette. An officer walking the streets in a large pelisse, had given his servant his sword, which incommoded him, intending to put it on again when he got near the palace. Unfortunately, before this took place the Emperor met him, and, in consequence of being without his sword, he was reduced to the ranks, and his servant made an officer in his stead.

The etiquette established in the palace became equally strict and equally dreaded. Prince George Gallitzen, the chamberlain, was put under arrest on the spot by his Imperial Majesty himself, for having made the bow and kissed the hand too negligently; but of all the changes which were introduced without any preparation, those made in the army were the most extensive, and opened a fine field for the genius of Paul; but his reforms were all of the most frivolous sort.

Amongst his many wonderful eccentricities, he had a great antipathy to a round hat; and an imperial ukase was issued prohibiting their being worn by any one. An order was likewise issued to the police to knock them off the head of those who should presume to disobey the imperial commands, and in one instance an English merchant, passing in his calesh, was stopped by them, and his hat forcibly taken from him. This invasion of the liberty of the English residents, brought down a spirited remonstrance from Sir Charles Whitworth, then British minister, when the order was subsequently rescinded as regarded foreigners, which was to apply only to natives; but still strangers were subjected to much annoyance

from it, since they were conducted into the presence of the police, to have their passports examined. But the arbitrary conduct of the Tzar was most singularly displayed even towards foreigners. The Sardinian minister having in pleasantry observed, that similar trifles had been known to bring about a revolution in a country, he was peremptorily ordered to leave St. Petersburgh in twenty-four hours.

So very absurd was Paul's home legislation, that some of it favoured almost of insanity. Thus, when foreigners visited any of the palaces, or even the royal gardens, he compelled them to remain uncovered, as if the Emperor were present, and any neglect of such ceremonial was deemed a most flagrant crime. The etiquette of the palace was more servile than had ever been known before; and Paul revived the slavish custom in all its ancient force, of compelling those who presented themselves to kneel before him, and to kiss his hand with a boisterous salute, so that it might be distinctly heard throughout the apartment. He compelled the Russian coachmen to dress after the German fashion, to tie tails to their hair, and to abandon their beards and kaftans; but as this was more likely to produce revolution than any thing else, the order was softened down to a *request*, which met with great indignation and disobedience—even the harnessing of the horses was to be done in the German fashion. Only a fortnight was allowed for carrying out this great change, and the police had orders to cut the traces of all carriages with horses harnessed in the old-fashioned way; so industriously did Paul work to make himself generally disliked, and thereby to undermine his stability on the throne. His wish was seemingly to *alter* and not to improve; for any thing to have existed during the

reign of his mother was sufficient reason that it should cease under his; there was nothing too trifling to which he did not descend, to show disrespect to Catherine's memory. The persons belonging formerly to her court wore rings, on which the date of her decease was enamelled. The Emperor expressed his dissatisfaction at it, and they were obliged to wear rings, with the motto, "Paul consoles me." He carried his filial disrespect so far, as to check by his disapprobation a society of opulent Russians who had united at Hamburgh, under the auspices of the Russian minister, to erect a poetical monument to the memory of Catherine.

The number of ordinances that succeeded each other in a week was almost incredible; frequently new regulations contradicted or frustrated one another; and what was ordained one day, was obliged to be modified or annulled the next. The petty regulations of the Grand Duke were discoverable in the decrees of the Emperor, who thought to govern his capital in the same way that he had formerly governed his private establishment. His military discipline was so strict, that he ordered the soldiers to be at all times ready to turn out upon guard, making no allowance for fatigue nor for the necessary time of repose; consequently, the desertions from the ranks became numerous, which, until this time, was unknown in the Russian army. The soldiers complained, "We are forced to be at our exercise from morning to night without having any thing to eat; our clothes are taken from us, and we are beaten black and blue."

The Emperor had a great horror of the French Revolution—perhaps the only sentiment in which he had concurred with his mother—since it fostered a spirit of in-

dependence amongst the people, which he deemed dangerous to all thrones. His magnanimous aversion was first shown by ordering the French word "*magasin*" to be obliterated from over the shop fronts; he then issued an imperial ukase, forbidding the students of the academy to employ the word "revolution" when describing the movements of the heavenly bodies, and on the play-bills the actors were ordered to use the word *permission* instead of *liberty;* thus nobly did the Tzar attempt to combat the influence of the French Revolution in his own state. He laid upon the press the most rigorous restrictions to prevent his subjects knowing what was going on in Europe; and, to show his respect for legitimacy, he offered an asylum to Louis XVIII. in the capital of Courland, with a large grant of land for his maintenance.

Paul having made extensive changes amongst the military—or, rather, having issued such orders as he thought would lead to these changes—he proceeded to revolutionize all civil offices for fiscal administration, the confusion and misery of which was so great, that it almost immediately threw out of employment 20,000 persons; some of these offices were entirely abolished, and most of the provincial governments were changed to new localities; the tribunals of justice underwent a complete change, but it must be confessed that nothing could be worse than its former administration to the Russian people. There were but two classes then existing—nobility and serfs; the Tzar, by an imperial ukase, endeavoured to establish a third class, or middle order, who should possess wealth and education, and yet be a distinct people from the aristocracy. This was looked upon with great jealousy by the nobles, since the middle classes and the

serfs might possibly combine against them, thus not only rendering it dangerous to their authority, but to their property. Serfdom was engrafted, as it were, on the soil of Russia. When an estate was conveyed, the peasants were sold with it, and the chief attraction to a purchaser became, not so much the number of *desitines*, or acres, but the number of peasants; hence this portion of their property was attacked, and nothing tends more in this country to alienate a sovereign from his nobles, than the attempted enfranchisement of, or interference with their serfs.

This blow on the part of Paul was, perhaps, the most serious that he had yet struck to undermine his authority; and it may probably be said to have signed his death-warrant, since, far from endeavouring to enlighten the people by education, he proscribed the use of printing-presses, except under the most rigorous regulations. He permitted only three to be employed, which were confined to printing his own ukases, books for the church, or for the government schools. No works were allowed to be circulated that had not received the sanction of the censorship, nor any foreign literature whatever. He dreaded the intrusion of French newspapers, which were most strictly prohibited; and any person receiving a book or newspaper, was obliged to take it to the committee appointed to control the press; he even recalled Russian students from foreign countries, lest their return might indoctrinate his subjects with revolutionary principles. But he enforced a most extraordinary regulation on foreigners residing in the capital: he obliged them by royal order to attend their respective places of worship, under heavy penalties for disobedience; furthermore, he extended his orders to the regulation of dress, and prohibitions were issued against

round hats, pantaloons, and lapelled waistcoats, and innkeepers were obliged to inform against any persons entering their houses with such prohibited articles.

In the last reign, paper money was introduced for the first time in Russia, to relieve the financial difficulties in which the country was involved from the prodigal expenditure of the Empress Catherine, already alluded to—where official salaries nominally of £70 to £80 per annum, were swollen by fraud to the amount of £2000 per annum. Where honour and principle were so completely undermined amongst the leading members of a government, and even by the Sovereign herself, it must have been expected to extend to the subordinates; thus the people were ground down by myriads of despots. Catherine had even sanctioned the adulteration of the national coin; several millions of it were ready to be issued at the accession of Paul, which, much to his credit, was not put into circulation, and by gradually withdrawing the assignats they recovered from that great depreciation of value which they had before experienced. He ordered six millions of them to be publicly burnt, and he himself attended the ceremony, which was performed with much solemnity, Prince Kourakin presenting to the Emperor the ashes of the confiscated paper amidst the shouts of the multitude. But, in order to improve the finances, the Emperor adopted the extraordinary method, by royal order, of raising the paper rouble to the same value as that of the silver rouble, thereby increasing them to three times their former amount. The people, accustomed to suppose that the ukases of the Tzar possessed divine authority, had the fullest reliance that this increased value would be realized; and the Emperor was fully persuaded that he had only to command,

and this result would be accomplished. So jealous was he of being obeyed, that he sent his son, Constantine, privately to the bazaars to see if his orders were respected, who tempted the people to infringe it by trying them, and, whenever they would not give him silver for a paper rouble, the person was denounced, and the shop shut up without ceremony.

The Emperor set the good example of introducing strict economy in the expenditure of his court, and enforced the same throughout the different departments of the government. This inspired confidence amongst the people; but the financial difficulties of the state were so overwhelming, that Paul was obliged to hand them over to a committee, who agreed that they must return to the circulation of specie; but where the specie was to come from no one could discover, and the Imperial authority itself failed to bring it to light. By another ukase he ordered the governors of twenty-three provinces, whom Catherine had presented with rich services of plate, to yield them up to the national treasury, constituting them still to be government property, and the order was obeyed. But this supply was quite inadequate to the necessities of the times, and the finances remained in a deplorable condition. Many expedients were resorted to; amongst others, a new duty was imposed on foreign imports, with strict orders that the dues should be paid in dollars or Dutch ducats, with the view of converting them into Russian coins, and thus assist the circulation; but the measure became ruinous to the merchants, and the commerce of the country was materially injured; consequently the measure defeated the object intended. All that the Tzar's talents could do to establish an equilibrium between his receipts and expenditure, as

to double the poll tax on the wretched peasants, and a new tax was imposed on the nobles, which, however, their vassals were obliged ultimately to pay.

The Emperor Paul, by an imperial ukase in 1800, incorporated Georgia with his dominions. This country had been taken under Russian protection by Catherine II., who had guaranteed the crown to Heraclius and his heirs for ever; but, upon the grounds of composing her differences, Georgia lost her independence by Russian annexation; such was the motive stated for the son annulling the decree of his mother. Much cruelty is imputed to the Russian government in their treatment of the royal family of Georgia. Goorgkeen, the then sovereign, died of a broken heart in his capital; his widow, the Queen Maria, who continued to reside at Tiflis with her seven young children, was desirous to make her escape from the brutal treatment of the governor, Zezianoff, who was related to her; her project being communicated to him, he ordered General Lazeroff to convey her out of the kingdom into Russia. He entered her apartment early one morning to force her to set out on her journey; his manner towards her was so brutal, that the outraged woman stabbed him with a dagger which she held concealed under the cushion, and he expired on the spot; the soldiers rushed in—the Queen was overpowered, and was driven bleeding from her house; a considerable force accompanied her on her journey, and the Georgians testified their regret at seeing her sent into exile. On her arrival in Russia she was confined in a monastery.* By a treaty concluded between the Emperor and the Sultan Selim, a united

* Elias Georgievitch, son of the last king of Georgia, died at Moscow, 13th July, 1854.

Turkish and Russian fleet took possession of the Ionian Islands, which in 1800 were constituted into a Republic, of which Selim acquired the protectorship on condition of consenting to the incorporation of Georgia into the Russian Empire.

The Emperor had declared his foreign policy to be pacific, and, in conformity with this declaration, he sent orders to the different commanders in Persia, who had been very successful in the invasion of that country, immediately to withdraw their troops and return to Russia. Valerian Zuboff, as already related, was the Commander-in-Chief appointed by Catherine, through the influence of his brother, the favourite; and the Emperor, to show his contempt for this captain of his mother, did not deign to address to him any orders, and, to increase the indignity, the sealed packet was delivered to him by the courier, containing the orders to the different commanders. The army, abandoned by its leader, broke up into divisions, and took different routes to return to Russia; the consequence was, that they got into great disorder, and experienced heavy losses and sufferings. Zuboff was left behind with a couple of battalions of chasseurs only; they were harassed in their retreat, but at length arrived at St. Petersburgh in the spring of 1797, when he immediately resigned his commission, as did likewise numerous officers serving under him. Thus Paul abandoned this memorable expedition to Persia, which had been so costly in men and money, one of the most favourite projects of the Empress Catherine—seemingly in contempt of her policy, and to disgrace her commander.

It has been noticed that Paul's hatred of France was

as great as even that of Catherine, who had compelled all Frenchmen residing in her dominions to abjure the new constitution imposed by the democrats; but Paul not only had an aversion to France politically, he disliked the people. He had made one visit to France, and he believed the French to be the most immoral people in the world; he was furious against their revolution, which seemed to shake every state in Europe, and to threaten the destruction of every monarchy. In order to avert these calamities, Catherine had, as early as the year 1791, headed the confederacy of the old governments of Europe, as the arbitrator between them and the revolutionists of France, which had occasioned so great consternation at the Courts of Berlin, Vienna, and St. James. The Empress was not herself so much alarmed, since her frozen regions were deemed almost inaccessible to the French propagandists; she could, therefore, interfere with that authority which was held in such high respect and without jealousy. She formed a confederacy, on the 18th February, 1795, with those leading powers whose territories more particularly bordered those of France; and a special treaty was entered into with Great Britain, binding Russia to act with the confederated monarchs.

During the four years which had intervened since the period when the treaty was formed with them, by which Russia was pledged to assist them with her arms, she had been playing the grand part of the Arbitress of Europe, a title which Catherine hoped to have seen recognised by the different powers; but Prussia refused to acknowledge her supremacy, and withdrew her armies. On this defection, Catherine immediately offered to supply 150,000 men, besides a fleet of twelve sail of the

line to cruise in the North Sea, to blockade a Dutch squadron which had been seized by the French Republic. The army intended for this service was already assembled in Gallicia, with the brave Suwarrow for its commander, waiting for orders to march into France; such was the state of the foreign policy of Russia when Catherine's death prevented the carrying out her designs, which were considered to be more ambitious than a general alliance of Europe against the French Republic. Paul, immediately on his accession, refused to ratify the treaty with England; he recalled Suwarrow, and appointed Rosemberg to head the army, whose only recommendation was, that he had been more subservient to the Emperor's caprices in the changes which he had introduced in the dress of the soldier, and he was suddenly raised from an unimportant command in the Kuban to supersede the greatest native commander which Russia had yet seen. The recall of this general was on the most frivolous pretences, and shows the wayward caprices of his Imperial master. Suwarrow, who had so distinguished himself in Catherine's wars, was most enthusiastically attached to her service, whose gigantic projects suited his military genius. He was brave and reckless, even to the most merciless expenditure of the lives of his troops, who could almost conquer by the terror of his name, and his bravery in the Turkish war may certainly be deemed barbarous; but so popular was he with the army, that Paul only waited for some excuse to deprive them of their commander, of whose power he became jealous, and this excuse was not long wanting.

Suwarrow had always looked with great contempt on

those frivolous changes which the Emperor had been making in the dress of the soldiers, which had been formerly very simple, consisting of two garments only, viz., a green jacket fastened with a girdle, and large pantaloons terminating in the boots. They were now ordered to conform to the German fashion; to have their hair clotted with pomatum and powder; to wear a false tail tied to it, and curls by the sides; likewise, to wear long gaiters with buttons. Such changes were enough to produce an "emeute" in the army, and it was quite a burlesque to see the Russian peasants endeavouring to conform to the German fashion. They completely disgusted Suwarrow, who, instead of acting upon them, is reported to have turned them off jocularly, by saying, that "hair-powder was not gunpowder, curls were not cannons, and tails were not bayonets." This was reported to the Emperor, who, being much exasperated, immediately recalled him from the command, and the brave Suwarrow had only to obey the Imperial order, which was done with some little dramatic effect.

Calling his troops together, he communicated to them in person the Emperor's commands, and, drawing them up in line, he caused a pyramid to be raised of the drums and colours. The general then appeared, decorated with his different orders, dressed as a grenadier. He addressed his companions in arms, and bade them a mournful farewell; then, stripping himself of his uniform and all its decorations, he placed them with his helmet on the pyramid, and exclaimed—"Comrades, a time will probably come when Suwarrow may reappear amongst you; in the mean time, he leaves these spoils with you, which he always wore in his victories;"—saying this, he retired amidst the acclamations of the troops, with whom his

speech produced a great sensation, and he withdrew, leaving the command to Rosemberg.

Suwarrow retired to a small house he possessed at Moscow, where his reputation and popularity with the soldiers excited so great an interest, that it gave offence to Paul, who ordered the old soldier to leave the city in four hours, and to retire to a remote village, when, putting up his valuables, he immediately left the house. This he did in a kabitka, or common cart, accompanied by a police officer a distance of five hundred versts, wrapped up in his cloak, and indifferent to the discomforts of his journey. In the village he was placed under the surveillance of a major and some agents of police. In this state of dreary solitude, he was neither permitted to write nor to receive visiters. His daughter was at length allowed to visit him, which was effected only through great interest made with the Emperor.

By this time the victorious march of the French to the gates of Vienna, aroused the new Emperor from his frivolous pursuits of military changes of uniform, to a sense of the danger to which his own empire might be involved by the gigantic successes of France. Naples, Genoa, and Venice had been trampled upon, Egypt invaded, Switzerland revolutionized, and Malta taken, just as he had concluded a treaty with the knights for the purchase of that island, and had actually appointed a governor to it. They had formerly offered the island for sale to Catherine, urging upon her the importance of its acquisition to Russia in her projects on the Greek empire. Paul resolved to participate in the war against so encroaching and dangerous a power as France, whose ambition had arrayed against it almost every nation that could bring an army into the field. In 1798, he

entered into a treaty with Austria to bring 60,000 Russians into the field. He formed an alliance with England, pledging himself to furnish an auxiliary force of 45,000 men to act with British troops in the north of Germany; and treated the French emigrants in his dominions with hospitality and distinction. He received the title of Grand Master of Malta, and entered warmly into the league with the Sovereigns of Europe, to arrest the progress of anarchy, and of those democratic principles so insidiously disseminated by the propaganda of the French revolution. So enthusiastically did the Emperor enter into this league, that he sought to unite in one common bond of unity all Christians, and to appease for ever those controversies which had agitated their several communities. He further sought to bring Frederick William III. of Prussia into the alliance (who had seceded from it), by sending to him Prince Repnin to win him over, in which he did not succeed, the King being swayed by the French diplomatists in favour of France. Paul showed great ardour in his different negotiations with the European powers to resist the wanton aggressions of France. A Russian army was marched into the south of Germany under General Loof, who by his brutal manners, and contempt for the generals of the allies, encouraged his troops to the most lawless excesses, which brought loud complaints from Vienna. Paul ordered him immediately to be sent bound hand and foot to St. Petersburgh, to be first stripped of all his honours, of his orders, and uniform, in front of the troops, which made great impression upon them.

The offender being removed, Count Rosemberg continued to advance with his troops, whose march made a

great sensation throughout Europe, since no Russian army had ever yet gone beyond the confines of Poland. Their renown for bravery and endurance was held in high estimation by the different European governments; and both Austria and England looked to them with the greatest reliance for stemming the torrent of French aggression. The Emperor of Germany even came out to meet them; but, finding that they were commanded by a general quite unequal to his important duties, strong remonstrances were made to Paul by the Archduke Palatine, then at St. Petersburgh, entreating him to appoint Suwarrow, the fame of whose victories would probably have great influence over the army; and the old veteran was recalled, after his long banishment from military affairs. He returned to them loaded with honours and confident of success, and forgot the injuries he had sustained; the troops had the most unbounded confidence in him, and he inspired throughout the empire the greatest enthusiasm as to the issue of the campaign.

Suwarrow was so intimately acquainted with the character of the Russian soldiers, that he could both lead and command them at the same time; they were conspicuous more for their brute force than for their intelligence, and were but poorly skilled in military science. Hardy, brave, and obedient, they were the very slaves of command, whether to the canon's mouth, or storming the breach; like a steady torrent they came forward, and, though their ranks may be mowed down, successive ranks closed in. They were endowed with such an obstinate spirit, that nothing could subdue them but utter destruction; they were ignorant and superstitious to the most amusing degree. Thus, they

believed that a soldier who was killed under his colours fighting against the enemy, would be restored to life again at the end of three days, when he would find himself in his home, and free from the obligation of serving in the army again; this belief had a wonderful effect in stimulating their courage, and rendering them capable of desperate deeds.

Suwarrow partook of much of the superstition of his troops, and on all occasions showed them his great veneration for religious observances. He would sometimes stop the march of the army, and appeal to their religious feelings, by making the most burlesque reverences to any crucifix or image on the road-side, and he covered himself with charms and amulets to protect him in battle; from this cause probably he was unconscious of fear, and would rush into the heat of the action sweeping all before him. On one occasion an Austrian general recommended to him a *reconnoisance* before attacking the enemy; with his characteristic bravery he replied, "Form columns, charge bayonets, plunge into the centre of the enemy! such is my *reconnoisance*." The extraordinary feats of Suwarrow astonished the cabinet of Vienna, since it was so opposed to their cautious policy. He was likewise the most rigid disciplinarian, and would subject himself to all points of duty which he had once established. The endurance of his troops was unparalleled. To the Russian soldier, brought up in his frozen regions, subjected to the rigour of the climate, and to the coarsest food, war was more a pastime than any thing else; scarcely could any hardships or conditions degrade him lower than those to which he had been subjected. He was enlisted for life; therefore his general be-

came his father, and the regiment his home. Of rye-flour, peeled-barley, and salt, a regular allowance was distributed to him monthly; these were made into black bread or biscuit, and, if seasoned with an onion, lamp-oil, or candle-grease, it was considered a great luxury. Quass, made of fermented flour, was his drink; and on his march he would avail himself of any fruits or mushrooms to be found in the district. The cost of such soldiers to the government was so small, that a large army could be put in motion almost at the same expense which it would cost other powers to move a battalion; the most harassing fatigues could not destroy them, and climate only could work their destruction. This was particularly the case in Persia, where the troops of the north were decimated by the hot breezes of the east. Their rigid discipline gave them great advantage over the insubordinate soldiers of Turkey, who, like the simoom of the desert, would make a grand swoop upon their foes, but could not disperse them—these were flying clouds, whilst the Russians were battalions of brass.

The Russian cavalry, composed principally of the Cossacs of the Don and the Ukraine, was a most powerful auxiliary to the battalions of infantry; they were mounted on small horses, partly unshod, never cleaned, and generally kept with the bridle and saddle on, ready for immediate service. These horses were bred in the wild steppes of Russia, and were as hardy as the wolves of the same clime. The men were armed with a lance, fifteen feet long, which was supported in the right stirrup, but which they used with great dexterity; they had likewise an indifferent sabre, two pistols, and a carbine, which completed the equipment; and, when on duty,

they were most vigilant, active, and bold. These flying squadrons hovered like clouds over the enemy, and came down upon them even before they were suspected to be at hand. They pioneered the way for their own troops, and surrounded them when menaced with danger. They were, perhaps, the best light cavalry in the world; for, with but little military discipline, they were most formidable to a retreating army, by their reckless valour, and skirmishing mode of warfare. They had never yet been trained to regular war, hence they were employed cautiously in a battle, being generally kept at a distance; and, according to the result, they either made terrible havoc with the vanquished foe with their long pikes, or they covered the retreat of their own armies. Accustomed to pastoral life, the Cossac was partly savage by education, since he had but little teaching beyond the great agents of nature which surrounded him.

With such troops Suwarrow arrived, in the month of April, on the banks of the Mincio. He took the command of the united Russian and Austrian forces, and conquered the greatest French generals of the day; amongst them were Moreau and Macdonald. A series of successes followed these engagements, in which he showed, not only his accustomed bravery, but proved himself to be a skilful tactician, so as to astonish his great opponents. The result of the campaign in Italy was the loss to the French in killed and wounded of nearly 30,000 men, with an immense number of officers, guns, and munitions of war. Thus, for the first time, were the Russian troops opposed to the French, who were then deemed to be the best in the world. It redounded so much to the credit of the Russians, that hopes were entertained by the allied powers, that they might

offer an effectual check to the progress of the revolutionary principles prevailing in France; and, had the Russian general been permitted to follow up his successes, there is no doubt that the republicans would have been so completely repulsed, that they would have been driven within their own territory; but orders were sent to the commander-in-chief from Vienna, which checked the campaign. This sadly chafed the brave spirit of Suwarrow; he might more than once have brought the war to a conclusion; but he was thwarted in his career, and obliged to yield to superior orders.

A most tremendous battle was fought on the 15th August, 1798, in which Suwarrow distinguished himself with more than his accustomed bravery. He was to be seen reconnoitring the posts on the evening preceding the battle, on horseback, in his usual costume, examining the position of the enemy, and giving his orders with that precision and brevity for which he was so celebrated. In this battle the loss on both sides was enormous, and the carnage amongst the Russian troops, from the grape-shot of the enemy, exceeded any thing they had ever before experienced—whole battalions of them were swept away, when others supplied their place, who charged with their bayonets with the most invincible courage, to be mowed down again by the sides of their dying comrades; their enthusiasm and recklessness of life has never been exceeded in any other engagement. The republicans retreated, nor were the allies capable of following up their successes, being completely exhausted by their own losses. This closed the campaign as far as the Russians were concerned, and the field was left open to the Austrians alone. The honours which Suwarrow had reaped, were readily granted to him by both friend and foe. His

Imperial master was quite intoxicated with joy at the success of his great general, who already had the title of Riminski, for a victory which he had achieved over the Turks near the river Rimnik. Paul now conferred upon him the title of Prince, with the surname of Italiański, for his great successes in Italy, and issued an Imperial Ukase, ordering that he should be considered as the greatest general in ancient or modern times. The Russians were now more generally made known to Europe, through the courage of their great commander, for their bravery and knowledge of the art of war, in which they were formerly esteemed to be barbarians or undisciplined savages; hence they took new rank in the scale of nations, and were held in high respect by the allied powers. The successes of Suwarrow so completely engrossed the public mind of his own country, that they expected he would shortly make a triumphant entry into Paris, as he had done into Warsaw—they even thought that the Russians might make the entire conquest of Europe.

We shall now return to the domestic government of Paul, so far as concerns the home administration of his vast dominions. He had formerly affected great economy, and set the example personally of limiting expenditure in every department of the state; but, with that wayward disposition which so characterized him, he soon betrayed habits of extravagance, such as had scarcely been exceeded even by his mother. His personal expenditure became enormous, and was as frivolous in its application as it was ruinous in its tendency. He spent a vast sum in his coronation, in which he would exceed the sumptuousness of Catherine; nor was he content with the crown which she had worn for

thirty-four years, but he would have a new one made, at the cost of several millions of roubles, which was conveyed to the palace with extraordinary pomp. The Emperor's coronation was performed at Moscow on the 16th April, 1797, from whence he made a journey to Astracan, whilst the Empress returned to St. Petersburgh. After the ceremony, the Emperor threw money amongst the people, 45,000 pieces of silver having been coined for the occasion. Nor was he content with the magnificent palaces which the Empress had built on so princely a scale, as at that time to exceed almost any others in Europe, perhaps, with the exception of Versailles; but he resolved to have a palace of his own, dedicated to St. Michael. This was partly occasioned by his saying, —that he would not inhabit any of the residences of his mother, to whose memory he showed so great an aversion even in the most trifling ways. He would never occupy her summer palace of Tzarsko-zelo, containing so many monuments of the glories of the empire, and on which such immense sums had been spent. The gold that was swallowed up by it, even in ornament, is beyond all estimate.

The Castle of St. Michael was an enormous quadrangular building, at the bottom of the summer gardens. The Emperor was anxious to inhabit it as soon after he was crowned as possible, so that the workmen toiled with incredible labour by day and by night, under the sultry heat of summer, and in all the severity of a polar winter. In three years this vast and magnificent pile was finished; the whole of it moated round, and, from numerous bastions of granite and drawbridges, it has the appearance of the last asylum for a sovereign at war with his subjects. The capacity and variety of its chambers

would permit of his being assassinated in one room, whilst nothing would be known of it in another. It is said that Paul took possession of his new palace as a place of strength, and beheld it with rapture because his imperial mother had never seen it. The interior was extremely rich, and its architectural splendour was of that princely sort which distinguishes the palaces of St. Petersburgh. For protection against his own people, and to barricade himself against their attacks, seems to have been his leading motive for building this palace fortress. The fate of his father was continually before his eyes; he therefore kept his people as far from his person as possible, and intrenched himself within this citadel. His despotism took turns according to his fears; suspicious of every one, he at length mistrusted his own family—including the Empress; and seeing her one day engaged in conversation with a foreign ambassador, he interrupted her, exclaiming, "You are preparing, perhaps, Madam, to act the part of Catherine, but know that you will not find in me a Peter III."

In domestic life, Paul was capable of showing great kindness and tenderness to his family; but they were the sudden ebullitions of a wayward temper, so capricious that no confidence could be reposed in it. The Empress Maria, of whom we have already spoken as Grand Duchess, was described as the most amiable of human beings—suited to tranquillize the stormy and tempestuous mind of her husband; her court was purified of that low and vicious society which had so distinguished it during the reign of Catherine. A writer of the day, who seems to have known the character of the Empress intimately, thus describes her:—"She is a tender mother and faithful wife; the goodness of her soul is the principal

trait, and, although she was the finest woman of her court, yet she did not captivate the heart of her husband. Her amiability, her patience, and her modesty, have been put to the severest tests by the conduct of Paul. Her days are occupied with a round of duties suitable to her sex and station. She is perhaps the most laborious and the most occupied lady in Russia. Music, painting, and embroidery, are the arts in which her Majesty excels, which charms the solitude in which she lives. Study and reading are to her less a business than recreation, and the domestic details of her beneficence serve happily to fill up the remainder of her days. The Empress is of good stature, and well made, with more majesty than grace, and less wit than sentiment. She is likewise a grateful daughter and a tender sister, as well as a faithful wife and good mother. Far from forgetting her country and friends, the state with which she is surrounded, and the space which separates her from them, does not prevent her love and remembrances towards them."

The Emperor, when intrenched within his fortress, and fancying himself secure from all attacks, began to play the tyrant with that reckless despotism which drove the people from the capital, and caused continued alarms in the streets. There was but one person whom he was ever known to place confidence in, viz., his Turkish valet, Ivan Paulovitch, Count Kutousoff, who obtained such ascendancy over Paul as to have him quite in his power—this power the valet wielded scarcely second to his imperial master. Ministers of state, generals, and courtiers, were obliged to humble themselves before him. The Emperor made him even "Councillor of State," and gave him the title of "Excellence," and, great as was

the tyranny of his rule, yet no one dared to complain. Ivan Paulovitch Kutousoff was by birth a Turk. He was made a slave in his infancy, and had been brought up in the house of the Grand Duke.

The despotism of the Russian government now became almost insupportable; a secret police was established, domiciliary visits were made at all hours by order of the Emperor, and families were dispersed by the agents of the government; every one became alarmed; and St. Petersburgh was no longer a safe residence. There was no security for life, nor any possibility of fulfilling the wishes of the tyrant by the most rigorous conduct; midnight arrests were frequent, and the sudden disappearance of some of the citizens caused anxious fears amongst the inhabitants generally, not knowing on whom the Emperor's suspicions might next be visited. Those who could afford to leave the capital, fled in consternation; and, where show and pageantry had glittered through the streets during the preceding reign, now sorrow and oppression from the most grievous despotism prevailed, which had yet visited this grand city. Of the Emperor's self-complacent dignity, we have some amusing anecdotes. Amongst others, the French ambassador being desirous to speak to his Majesty, and vexed at seeing him continually address one of his favourites, said, "Sire, that is apparently some great man of your empire?" "Know," replied the Tzar, "that there is no great man but to whom I speak, and that only so long as I speak to him." But from the imperial wrath even Pahlen, his minister, shrunk. The Emperor was once resolved that a certain criminal should be brought before him, whom Pahlen could not possibly discover; and, being unable to pacify his

despotic master, or to make him forget the matter, he caused a poor German to be arrested just as he was coming from his own country, who, utterly unsuspicious of the evil that awaited him, was seized at the barrier, his nostrils were slit, he received the knout, and was sent to Siberia. (The Emperor Alexander caused justice to be done him, and indemnified him in some measure for his sufferings.) But this weak-minded sovereign was capable, too, of some good traits of character occasionally, when the sun of generosity would shine over him; every thing was done by fits and starts; he seems to have been guided by no fixed principles of action; his mind was like the troubled sea, which could never rest but when it was visited with a calm.

Amongst his beneficent actions, he founded an hospital at Moscow for the poor officers of the army, to whom he would distribute small pensions. He paid great respect to the clergy, and gave orders through the empire for the bishops to assimilate themselves to the nobility, and he pleased the people by founding churches "by divine inspiration;" but it does not appear what were the Emperor's religious motives or professions, even if he made any. The tyranny of his sway extended as much to the soldiers as to the civilians. Having wearied himself by changing their dress, and conforming them to the German fashion, he now harassed the soldiers with repeated drills, and would order the roll-call to beat two or three times a day, to assure himself of the vigilance of the troops; he would at all hours personally inspect their barracks, so that the officers were in constant alarm, and they kept persons around them to give notice of the approach of the Emperor. If any were found unprepared for duty, he would

immediately order them out to drill, and harass and fatigue them frequently from daylight until noon; hence the service became a drudgery, resolved into forms, which tended to alienate the soldiery from their zeal and loyalty to the sovereign.

The officers went to the parade with trembling, since they were in danger of punishment from omitting any of those minute regulations which were so capriciously enforced. Paul would even sometimes arrest people for their looks when they happened to offend him; hence no one was safe, and a general panic had spread amongst the people. He became himself one day a victim to the same panic in a most amusing way. He had given orders to the Grand Duke Alexander, that the garrison should beat to arms at one o'clock in the morning, at which time the Emperor was buried in a profound slumber; this extraordinary alarm aroused the inhabitants, who rushed into the streets, which were filled with soldiers hastening to the parade. No one could tell what had happened; and his attendants hastening to awake the Emperor, he partook equally of the alarm, having forgotten his orders of the preceding day. He arose in terror, and believed that the revolution was come, of which he lived in such perpetual dread; and, immediately mounting his horse, he took flight towards his ancient palace of Gatchina, quite bewildered, and attended by two servants only. The Grand Duke Alexander immediately followed him, when, hearing the sound of horses, and imagining that he was pursued, he redoubled his speed, so completely had fear taken possession of his mind. Being at length overtaken by the Grand Duke, the Emperor had great difficulty in being persuaded that he had himself caused all this consternation,

until the order was shown him, which he had given in writing.

Having traced the history of the reign of the Emperor Paul to the summit of his power, we will now proceed to show how speedily the sovereign fell, when the tyrant became the victim of his own tyranny.

## CHAPTER VIII.

The Foreign Policy of the Russian Cabinet—Suwarrow's Retreat from Italy—His return to St. Petersburgh—His Death and History—The Emperor challenges all the Powers of Europe—Forms a Convention with Napoleon—Declares War against Great Britain—Freemasonry introduced into Russia—Paul, Grand Master of the Order of the Knights of Malta—Conspiracies formed against him.—Count Pahlen engages Zuboff and others in the Plot, and confers with Alexander on the Dethronement of his Father—The Emperor's Alarm—Pahlen denounces the Conspirators to Paul, and Places Alexander under Arrest—The Emperor learns of Pahlen's Treachery, who releases some Prisoners to act in the Plot—The Conspirators' march towards the Palace—Paul, alarmed, springs from his Couch—Struggles with the Assassins—Implores for his Life—is Strangled—Alarm of the Empress, who hastens to her Son's apartment—The Meeting of the Imperial Family after the Tragical Death of their Father—Alexander proclaimed Emperor—The Body of the Deceased Emperor Lies in State—The Burial—Character of Paul, &c.

THE Emperor Paul enforced the observance of the Sabbath on all his subjects, by an imperial ukase issued on Easter day, which fell on the 5th April, 1797. His activity in the issue of ukases was almost unprecedented; one of them, in particular, naming the numerous titles by which he would be addressed, ending with "so be it;" another added a saint to the Russian calendar, a third ordered the compilation of a book of armorial bearings of the Russian nobility; and a fourth, established a censorship for books; also he passed an act for the succession to the throne, and for the regulation of the interior of the imperial family, of their ranks and arms, and of the payments to be made to them from the imperial treasury;

and he altered the value of the silver coin. Never was sovereign more indefatigable in the internal administration of his Empire; restless, ardent, and fickle, repose was uncongenial to him, and, without any of the quiet dignity of his mother, he was in continual activity of body and mind.

It would be fatiguing the reader to recapitulate all the tyrannous acts of Paul I.; they serve to show that aberration of mind, which incapacitated him to be the sovereign ruler of the vast Empire of Russia.

Amongst his amusing aberrations may be mentioned his sovereign authority over the nobles, and the contempt with which he treated them. Discoursing one day with a nobleman, his Majesty, without any provocation, gave him a slap in the face, saying at the same time, "The salutation of me, Paul, with mine own hand!" As he passed along the road, perceiving a nobleman looking on at the planting of some trees, "What are you doing?" said he; "Merely seeing the men work," was the noble's reply. Then said the Emperor, "O, that is your employment; take off his pelisse, and give him a spade." And he was obliged immediately to join the labourers. While reviewing some soldiers in front of his palace, an officer was thrown from his horse, and dislocated his arm, but far from showing any appearance of sympathy, the Emperor kicked the officer as he lay on the ground. Flourishing his cane one day in a fit of passion, he accidentally broke the branch of a large glass lustre, and, perceiving what he had done, he smashed the lustre, and broke it in pieces. Such were the ebullitions of the disordered mind of this sovereign, which was seemingly a perfect chaos of tempests and wrath.

We will now return to the foreign policy of Russia, and to the reverses of her arms, which had formerly been so brilliant under their great general, Suwarrow. Another army was put in motion on the banks of the Rhine, consisting of 40,000 men, commanded by Koraskow, who had distinguished himself by his strict attention to the Emperor's orders regarding those minute details of discipline which have been already noticed; hence he completely gained his Imperial master's confidence, at the same time that he was almost ignorant of the common tactics of a general. His army had to act in concert with the Archduke Charles, who was then in Switzerland, but with strict orders not to be confounded with the Austrian troops, as they had been in Italy. The incapacity of Koraskow to command an army was soon lamentably proved at the battle of Zurich, where, when opposed to Massena and other distinguished French generals, the Russians met their first memorable defeat in the loss of 8000 killed and wounded, 5000 prisoners, and their military chest, containing 60,000 Dutch ducats and 300,000 silver florins. Koraskow lost all presence of mind, he became quite bewildered, and, although his troops fought with their accustomed bravery, yet they could not compete with the rapidity of the movements of the French army.

Suwarrow, in the mean time, on the other side of the St. Gothard, was preparing to join his companion in arms, as preconcerted between them. He pursued his march at the head of 12,000 men; but the French sharpshooters poured down a murderous fire upon them in the rocky defiles, which threatened destruction to the whole army. Even Russian bravery and perseverance paused, and at length the troops, deeming the mountains to be inaccessible whilst defended by the French sharp-

shooters, exhausted as they were by fatigue and privation, began to murmur, and then refused to proceed. This insubordinate act, the first which Suwarrow had experienced from his soldiers, he overcame with his usual tact and gallantry, proving how great was his influence over them. He caused a grave to be dug at the foot of the mountain, and, throwing himself into it, exclaimed, "Cover me with earth, and leave your general here. You are no longer my children. I am no longer your father. I have nothing more to do than to die." This appeal was irresistible; the grenadiers crowded around him, entreating to be led up the mountain, which was immediately taken advantage of, and the gallant veteran brought his troops successfully over the summit of St. Gothard. But even his skill and bravery could not retrieve the disasters of the other Russian general, Koraskow, which he first heard of at Mutten, where he expected to have been reinforced by these battalions. Suwarrow was now surrounded on all sides by the French troops, from whom escape seemed to be impossible. He called a council of war, and his officers advised a retreat into the Grisons. He was for a long time obstinate in resisting this advice, and when at length, for the first time, he gave orders to retreat, it is said that he wept like a child, as his reputation for immutability would be totally lost; but he yielded to the exigency, and withdrew before Massena, keeping him at bay like a lion.

This retreat was as distinguished for Suwarrow's heroism as his battles had been for his bravery; the paths were choked with snow, and even the hardy Russians, accustomed to frozen regions, fell beneath the severity of those dreary solitudes. Without any

shelter, destitute of provisions, and without fire-wood, they perished from cold and famine during their dreary bivouacks; and nothing but Russian perseverance and courage could have brought any of them through the dreadful perils of wandering over the rugged summits of mountains piled with snow, amidst the tempestuous blasts of winter, without a sign of life or vegetation, or even the wreath of a chimney smoke to guide them on the way, and sleeping at night uncovered in the snow. Thousands of them perished, and the wonder seemed to be that any one survived to tell the dreadful tale. But they persevered in their heroic march, and finally reached the village of Pani in the Grisons, where head-quarters were established.

Of the 40,000 men that originally composed the army, very few were left; and these exhausted, half clothed, and without baggage or artillery, presented a sad spectacle to their discomfited general, who had sworn to conquer France, and to enter Paris at the head of his triumphant host.

Of the two Russian armies of 80,000 men, but a few regiments ever returned to their native country. The old veteran commander was broken-hearted, and he was seized with a dangerous illness, probably occasioned by the violent fatigue he had undergone in his passage through Switzerland. The news of his indisposition no sooner reached St. Petersburgh, than a physician was immediately despatched to attend him; when orders for his return were forwarded, and it was signified, at the same time, that apartments had been prepared for him in the palace, and that every one was to pay him equal respect with the Imperial family. The consequences which could not fail to result from Russia's

abandoning the cause in which she was engaged, and the fear that such was the intention of the Emperor, induced Suwarrow to plead ill health to remain at his post, and to represent in strong terms the necessity of immediate reinforcements being sent to the army. These representations ill accorded with the political views of the Tzar, who had conceived a violent disgust against the House of Austria, which the minister either dared not, or did not wish to counteract. Orders were again despatched to Suwarrow to return. He repeated his remonstrances, but at length set out on his journey by slow stages, until he met a courier from St. Petersburgh, with instructions for him to return to Russia without delay, and acquainting him in terms strongly marking the displeasure of the Sovereign, that the apartments destined for him in the palace were already disposed of, and that his presence was not necessary in the capital.

From the moment of receiving this intelligence, the intellects of Suwarrow were evidently affected; but, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the physician, he persisted in travelling incessantly the days on which his fever intermitted, and subjected himself to great fatigue, which his health could not suffer without much inconvenience. At length, on reaching St. Petersburgh, which he was not quite forbidden to enter, he was obliged to take refuge in a small house situated in an obscure quarter of the town, belonging to a distant relation. His appearance on the night of his arrival was most affecting and humiliating; the distress of the family who had assembled to receive him was excessive; and the appearance of the old veteran warrior was such, as to leave but little hope of his preserving long the few symptoms of life which alone distinguished him from a corpse. His reason was

not totally gone, since it returned at intervals, and he could recognize some of the persons who surrounded him.

The general sensation produced by the situation of Suwarrow, seemed in the course of forty-eight hours to have been felt to a certain degree in the palace; for two days after his arrival, Count Rostopchin was sent on the part of the Emperor to inquire after his health. The medicines which had been administered, added to the repose which he had taken, had by this time restored to a certain degree his faculties; and almost the last effort of his mind was strongly marked in the singularity of his character. He affected to disbelieve that Rostopchin was prime minister, because he appeared in military boots; and, when he was pointed out as such, he declared he had mistaken him for an officer of the police. In the course of conversation, Suwarrow made Rostopchin acknowledge that he had been an under officer in his own regiment; and he frequently repeated the observation, that Russia alone knew how to choose prime ministers—that in other countries those only were entrusted with high offices who had been brought up to the details of office, and perhaps grown grey in the service, but that Russia was above these antiquated prejudices. Such remarks were little likely to conciliate those who surrounded the Emperor, which, when communicated through these channels, naturally inflamed Paul's mind, already irritated, against him.

Some time before his death, the aged marshal was totally childish. He amused himself by giving to those who attended or visited him, presents of things which he never possessed, and they gratified him by pretending to have received them, making acknowledgments of his liberality; and in this melancholy state he remained to

the hour of his death. The body was laid out in state in the house where he died; but the room was so small that there was scarcely sufficient space for the canopy of the cushion which surrounded it, on which the orders belonging to him were exposed. All ranks of people crowded to the spot to visit the remains of Suwarrow; and it was evident that the enthusiastic attachment of the Russians to their favourite general, was as great at this period, notwithstanding the marked disapprobation of the Sovereign, as at any time of his most victorious career. He died on the 18th May, 1800.

The funeral of Suwarrow completed his singular history. After having been honoured with every possible distinction which his Sovereign could bestow—being prayed for in the chapel together with the Imperial family—made a Prince of the Empire and Generalissimo of all the Forces, a rank equal to that possessed by the Emperor himself—and although he had conducted a brilliant and victorious campaign, yet he was buried without common military honours. A few soldiers from a marching regiment attended the procession, instead of the battalion of guards; no artillery was allowed to attend excepting some small pieces of cannon, which seemed to burlesque instead of adding dignity to the ceremony, even his caparisoned horse was forbidden to be led.

The populace felt, and plainly expressed, their indignation at the insulting and studied disrespect paid to the greatest military hero that Russia had ever produced; but the vigilance of the police obliged them to murmur in secret, and in a short time all seemed to have been forgotten except by those who were better able to appreciate Suwarrow's merit.

The Emperor Alexander ordered a statue of bronze to be erected to his memory in the *Champs de Mars*, representing the warrior on foot armed as a Roman, holding his sword in one hand and a shield in the other, with which he covers the crowns of Naples and Sardinia. The statue is well executed, and is a great ornament to the capital. A brief history of the great Russian general may not perhaps be deemed uninteresting.

Alexander Vassilievitch Suwarrow, descended from a Swedish family, but ennobled in Russia, was born in 1730, and at the age of twelve was enrolled in the Russian army. He began his career as a common soldier in the guards of the Empress Elizabeth. His education had been well attended to, since he spoke and wrote the French and German languages with great facility. In 1774 he married Barba Nanowna, Princess Prosorowski, by whom he had two children, a son and daughter. His father bequeathed him a considerable property, which, by the bounty of the Empress Catherine, was much augmented. He was most singular in appearance as well as in character, being only five feet one inch in height, with a large mouth, pug nose, eyes commonly half closed, or when dilated in battle terribly expressive; a few grey side-locks brought over the top of a bald crown, and a small unpowdered queue, the whole surmounted by a three-corner felt hat, ornamented with green fringe, completed the picture of Field-Marshal Suwarrow. By severe exercise, cold baths, and frugal diet, which he always shared with the soldiery, he kept himself, even to old age, in a vigorous state of health. He slept on a bed of straw or hay, covered simply by a light blanket; he had a philosophical contempt of dress, and might often have been seen drilling his men in his shirt

sleeves. It was only during the severe weather that he wore cloth, his outer garments being usually of white serge turned up with green; he seldom took off his clothes at night, and when he did undress, in order to insure his early rising he ordered cold water to be thrown over him. He was a rare example of temperance, and a rigid observer of the fasts of the Greek Church. His principal diversion as well as occupation was *war* and its duties; the soldiers commanded by him were inspired with a courage that rendered them invincible; he would sometimes march them the almost incredible distance of fifty versts a day; their necessary wants and even comforts were the constant objects of his protecting attention. He had no fixed habitation, and contented himself with whatever he found where circumstances led him; he never encumbered his person with either a watch or money; he was of incorruptible probity, immoveable in his purposes, and inviolable in his promises. Devoutly religious, he would on Sundays, when opportunity permitted, deliver lectures on subjects of piety to those whom duty called in attendance upon him. The love of his country, and ambition to contend in arms for its glory, were the principal and predominant emotions of his indefatigable life; to these he sacrificed every other sentiment, and consecrated without reserve all the faculties of his nature.

Having commenced his career as a common soldier, he was, in the month of August, 1762, appointed colonel of the regiment of infantry of Astracan, which was in garrison at St. Petersburgh. In 1768, he was advanced to the rank of brigadier, when he was ordered to the frontiers of Poland; in the month of November, the most unfavourable season of the year, he traversed a thousand

versts in the course of a month, through immense difficulties, and in this long and fatiguing march he lost only a few men in the environs of Smolensko. On the 1st January, 1770, he was advanced to the rank of major-general over the four commanders of the Russian army in Poland; in the course of the autumn of that year, he was in great danger of being drowned when attempting operations on the Vistula, from the rapidity of the current. He missed the pontoon when leaping from the bank, and fell into the river, when a grenadier seized him and threw him on the bank, where he was struck against another pontoon, which caused a violent contusion, from which he did not recover for some months. In that year the Empress graciously sent him the order of St. Anne, and subsequently the order of St. George of the third class, in testimony of the aid she had received from his services.

After the great battle in Lithuania, in which he had so distinguished himself, the Empress sent him the order of St. Alexander Nevsky, accompanied by the following rescript:—"To Major-General Suwarrow.—In recompense of the service which you have rendered me, as well as to your country, by the entire defeat of the Count Oginsky, Chief of the Lithuanians, who have revolted against our troops, it has pleased us to name you Knight of our Order of St. Alexander Nevsky, whose decoration we send you, and which we order you to take and wear. We hope that these distinguished testimonies of our imperial benevolence towards you will serve to cherish your zeal, and that you will consecrate your days to the advancement of our service. In that expectation, we assure you of the imperial esteem of your affectionate, CATHERINE."

The battle of Stalonitz and the capture of Cracôw were

the principal results of his four great campaigns in Poland, which gave promise of that brilliant career which subsequently followed. In the beginning of May, 1773, Suwarrow arrived at Yassy, and presented himself to Marshal Romanzoff, who had then fixed his headquarters at that place, the capital of Moldavia, by whom he was attached to the army of Lieutenant-Colonel Soltikoff, then encamped before Tchurschebo, in Wallachia. His first success against the Turks, to whom his name became at length so formidable, was taking the strong fort of Turtukai, of which he despatched to Field-Marshal Romanzoff an account in the following laconic terms:— "Honour and glory to God! Glory to you, Romanzoff! We are in possession of Turtukai, and I am in it.— SUWARROW." As a recompense for this victory there was forwarded to him the order of St. George of the second class, with a complimentary letter from the Empress. After many engagements with the Turks, in which he was eminently successful, he was attacked with fever, and obliged to go to Bucharest to re-establish his health. On his return to Yassy he received an order from St. Petersburgh to proceed with all possible haste to Moscow, to arrest Prince Wolgeniski, commander-in-chief at that capital, where he had been commissioned to appease the interior troubles of that part of the Empire. Suwarrow arrived there in August, 1774, when he received another letter, written by the Empress herself, to testify the satisfaction which she derived from his zeal and activity in her service.

Soon after the peace between Russia and Turkey, in 1775, Suwarrow received from his sovereign, at Moscow, a sword enriched with diamonds. He remained some time in that city, and his next campaign was against the Nogai

Tartars, in 1782, whom he forced to take an oath of fidelity to the Empress, for which service he received a diploma from her Imperial Majesty, with the Great Cross of the order of St. Wlodomir, and a letter from the Empress to the following effect:—"To our Lieutenant-General Suwarrow.—In the affairs confided to your care, and particularly in the commission which you have borne under the direction of our general, Prince Potemkin, for the reunion of the various nations of the Russian Empire, you have shown a zeal and activity for our service which has excited our particular attention and favour. Willing to give you a public testimony of our approbation, we hereby grant you the Grand Cross of the Equestrian Order of St. Wlodomir of the First Class, of which we send you the decoration; we command you to receive and wear them, according to the statutes.—We are, affectionately, CATHERINE. *Tzarsko-Zelo*, July 28, 1783."

On his arrival at St. Petersburgh, in 1785, Suwarrow was received with the greatest distinction, and was loaded with favours by the Empress.. In September, 1786, he quitted the capital for Krementschuck. About this time the journey of the Empress took place in the Krimea, and in February, 1787, Suwarrow arrived at Kivwie, in that country. Marshal Romanzoff was already there in the character of governor-general. A few days after his arrival, Suwarrow paid a visit to the Empress on board a vessel on the Dneiper, and was then appointed to command the troops appointed on her Majesty's march to do her military honours. He escorted her to Pultova, where the Empress graciously dismissed him, with the present of a box enriched with her cipher in diamonds.

In an action against the Turks before Otzakoff, he

received a musket-shot in the left arm; the wound discharged a great deal of blood, and there was no surgeon near him to dress it. He went therefore to the river side, and an officer of Cossacs of Catenikow, who followed him with some men, washed his wounds and bound them up with his cravat; with this dressing he remounted his horse, and returned to the field of battle. The siege of Otzakoff began on the 29th August, 1787, when Suwarrow received a ball in the nape of the neck, which became so very painful, that he thought it better to return to the camp. When the surgeon examined the wound and extracted the ball, the wound became so painful, that he had several fainting fits, succeeded by fever on the third day. He therefore ordered himself to be removed to Kinburn, at which place his respiration became very difficult, and his end seemed to be approaching. Nature, however rallied, A long and tranquil sleep restored his strength, and he was soon declared to be out of danger. He was under the surgeon's care for three weeks, during which time he never kept his bed, preferring regimen to medicine, by which his health was soon re-established. He narrowly escaped destruction at Kinburn, in consequence of a fire in the powder magazine, which was full of charged bombs, grenades, and various other combustibles, prepared for the army before Otzakoff. One of the bombs falling in the chamber where the general was sitting, broke down part of the wall, and wounded him in the face. Some lost their lives, and many were wounded by the accident; but, as all those employed in the magazine were killed, the cause of the disaster could not be discovered.

The soldiers had the most unbounded confidence in their leader; he inspired them with belief in the sanctity

of his cause, which led with many to a contempt of death. Such fanaticism was likely to inspire the timid as well as the bold, and to animate all with a superstitious confidence in Suwarrow as the man called to conquer, and chosen by the Almighty will to lead them to victory. To all his most skilful movements he affected to give an air of chance, or rather fatalism; for he saw that the soldiers' real confidence was principally in his military genius being inspired by Heaven, which was supposed to guide him. On a cold winter's day, he has been known, after giving the order to march, to mount on the bare back of a horse without any other clothing than his shirt. While drilling the troops, he would often eat a crust of their black bread, and the field-marshal of imperial armies was for whole days drilling them in this manner.

If he made his warriors in turn tremble at his severity, and laugh at his buffooneries, it was evident that he also knew how to make them fight, since, under his command, two of the most dreadful assaults in history took place—that of Ismail, and that of the suburb of Praga, with an expense of life unparalleled in warfare. Under his command, the Russian soldiers showed an individual gallantry which they had never evinced before. They never surrendered, though surrounded by the enemy; but died embracing the image of their Saints, which was attached as an amulet to their necks. Their leader was endowed with a boldness which led them from victory to victory. It was said of Suwarrow, that he was never cold, afraid, nor defeated.

In his campaigns in Italy, he had to contend with the most skilful generals of that time. In a series of hard fought battles, he defeated and drove them before him,

when he made that masterly retreat before Massena, to effect his junction with Koraskow, which crowned his military reputation. But Koraskow, instead of bringing him the additional forces which he expected, had himself been defeated, his army broken up, and divided into small groups, which were mostly cut down without surrendering, defending themselves to the last gasp. Like other great warriors, Suwarrow was heedless of bloodshed on the field, and reckless of human life, the most horrible instance of which we find, when ten thousand of the defenders of Warsaw were mercilessly put to the sword, which was with him one of the dreadful laws of war.

That he held human life too cheap, in order to forward the execution of his projects, cannot be doubted; and the prodigious massacre which took place at the storming of Ismail, is perhaps the most sanguinary blot in Suwarrow's career. He was a singular compound of barbarity, subtlety, sagacity, and courage. He was quite the man of impulse, and even his communications with his Sovereign bore the impress of grotesque originality. In the council, he proved himself the eloquent politician, the far-seeing statesman, as well as the sagacious soldier. He wrote his own despatches, when in correspondence with the Vendean insurgents, in the French language, and owed not a little of his success to his policy. He was at times the rough, semi-barbarous soldier, and he did every thing to make himself appear so; at others, he was the sagacious, cunning politician. He could be any thing which he saw fit to act. He would feign the buffoon and the fanatic by turns. He consented to be recognised by the soldiers as an idiot; but as an idiot inspired by Heaven. His quiet penetration

in war was admirable; in the very face of the enemy he would calculate in a surprising manner as to the time he had to spare, and he was never deceived in his calculation. He knew better than any other general the mind of the soldier, and the moral feeling of war that he had; besides that eminent quality, so rare amongst the generals of armies, that of being inured to fatigue—and, by sharing the sufferings of the soldiers, he set them an example on occasions of difficulty, by identifying himself with them.

In 1796, whilst he was occupied with the campaign of Italy, Napoleon had begun to distinguish himself. Suwarrow admired his movements, and that series of operations, so wisely combined and executed with so much energy, saying to General Korey, "We must make haste to oppose Buonaparte, otherwise he will be marching over the bodies of the German troops, and will come to seek us in our own territory," which astonishing prophecy has been too well realized.

Suwarrow will ever be the pride and glory of the Russian armies; and the inexhaustible subject of the stories and narratives of the soldier. The singularity of his manners, the originality of his character, his humorous and striking speeches, will insure him an immortality as much as his victories; but he was endowed with a natural ferocity, and spilt blood, like a tiger, by instinct. Educated in camps, and having distinguished himself as a subaltern, he advanced step by step, as we have shown, to the rank of commander-in-chief. His habits of life were very simple. He retired to rest at six in the evening, rose at two in the morning, when he bathed himself in cold water. His dinner, like his breakfast, consisted of the commonest food of the soldiers, with brandy. He was a religious devotee, and

superstitious to the greatest degree. He obliged his captains to pray aloud before their companies, and abused those foreign officers who were not acquainted with the Russian prayers. Sometimes he would visit the hospitals, and call himself a physician. He would at other times drive the sick from the hospitals, saying—"It is not permitted to the soldiers of Suwarrow to be sick." His hatred against the French was extreme; and he promised Catherine to march to Paris with 50,000 Russian troops.

His despatches to the Empress consisted of three or four words only, such as, "Ismail lies at your Majesty's feet." He frequently rode through the camp stripped to his shirt on the bare back of a Cossac horse; and at daybreak, instead of causing the drums to beat the "reveillé," he would come out of his tent and crow three times like a cock, which was the signal for the army to rise, and sometimes to advance to the battle.

But this savage warrior had some virtues, and showed great disinterestedness and generosity in refusing the gifts of Catherine, or of distributing them; he set no more value on money than on human blood.

After the capture of Warsaw, he returned to St. Petersburgh, where he accepted apartments in the Tauridean palace, and wore a marshal's uniform, which was given him by Catherine; he would at times gnash his teeth like a madman, grin like an ape, or weep like an old woman.

For Suwarrow's services at Otzakoff, the Empress overwhelmed him with her favours. She immediately sent him a sword enriched with diamonds, and a branch of laurel similarly ornamented, bearing this device—"To the Conqueror of the Grand Vizier." He received, at

the same time, the order of St. Andrew decorated with diamonds. Soon after, he received the diploma of "Count of the Empire of Russia," with the title of "Ryminski," and the order of St. Andrew of the first class. For his brilliant successes in Poland, the Empress wrote herself to Suwarrow, to announce to him his advancement to the rank of Field-marshal, and presented him with an estate of 7000 peasants in the district of Kobin, the scene of the first battle which he gained in the course of this campaign; the King of Prussia presented him with the order of the Red and Black Eagle; and the Emperor Joseph gave him his portrait enriched with diamonds, to the estimated value of 35,000 crowns, and the jewels that adorned the baton of Field-marshal were likewise of great value.

To return to our history—the Grand Duke Constantine served in this campaign under Suwarrow, and he reported to the Emperor that the reverses of the Russians were wholly occasioned by the treachery of the Austrians; thereby cutting up to the roots the good understanding which had existed between the allied powers. Paul became furious, and immediately put an end to the coalition; he even abandoned his own troops to their fate, refusing to effect any exchange of prisoners, and they were left to the miseries of their exile. The objects of the war did not so much affect the interests of Russia as of the other allies. Russia had only to guard against an invasion of French principles, and not of French troops; but there was another cause which induced Paul to retire altogether from the struggle. He had, for some time before, formed a treaty with Great Britain, covenanting to supply 17,000 troops to join her in an expedition

against Holland; these troops were defeated, and their general, Hermann, was taken prisoner. This produced a bitter feeling in the mind of the Tzar, who was so exasperated at the defeat that he attributed it to the English, as he had formerly done his defeat in Switzerland to the Austrians. He treated the ministers of the two courts at his capital with the most marked contempt, refusing to confer with them, and even expressing a desire that they should leave St. Petersburgh. He reviled the coalition, of which he had been formerly the most active member, and spoke in the most contemptuous terms of those allies with whom he had been so long acting in the most friendly conjunction.

This versatile sovereign, who now showed himself hostile to those European powers with whom he had been in intimate alliance, had, by his caprice, weaned all respectable men from him in his own dominions. His inconsistent conduct was plunging the Empire into her former barbarism, by depriving it of those alliances from which her civilisation and strength were to be derived; his weak intellects urged him on to the most monstrous follies; they seemed to prove an insanity which stamped his sovereignty with the Reign of Terror.

Among other of his egregious follies, he caused the following notice to be inserted in the *St. Petersburgh Gazette* on the subject of the war of the Allies, in which he said, instead of calling together a congress, they ought to convoke a tournament; and, in order to make known his sentiments to Europe, he drew up with his own hand the following composition, and employed Kotzebue to translate it into the German language for the *Hamburgh Gazette*:—"The Emperor of Russia, finding that the powers of Europe cannot agree among

themselves, and being desirous to put an end to a war which has desolated it for eleven years, intends to point out a spot to which he will invite all the other Sovereigns to repair, and fight in single combat, bringing with them, as seconds and esquires, their most enlightened ministers and able generals—such as Thurgott, Pitt, Bernstoff, &c. That the Emperor himself proposes being attended by Generals Count Pahlen and Kutousoff."

This paragraph was immediately translated and copied in all the public papers. Paul was called the insane Emperor—he ordered the Danish ambassador to quit the capital within twenty-four hours, for having communicated to a friend the substance of this address, which had been told him by the Emperor. His wayward tyranny was now more than ever exercised towards the troops, which made their duty almost insupportable—he was incessantly harassing them with minute details of discipline, which served to alienate them from their allegiance, and even from his service; for, what was never known before of the Russian soldiers, they deserted in great numbers, and those that remained, instead of being the guardians of his throne, were more likely to become conspirators against it.

But the foreign policy of Paul now astonished the whole world, and his caprice never took so decided a turn as when he deserted his old allies and formed a convention with Napoleon, who was too well aware of the value even of the neutrality of Russia, if he could not secure her friendship. His rising power was now dazzling the world—the Continent was prostrate at his feet.

Marengo, Alexandria, and other victories, were his

trophies, the ancient palace of the Capets was his residence; and Paul, more dazzled by him than any other sovereign, became converted to a sudden admiration of Napoleon, who lost no opportunity to work upon his wavering and fretful feelings. To ingratiate himself with the Tzar, an opportunity was not long wanting. He sent home the numerous Russian prisoners made in the disastrous campaigns of Italy and Switzerland, without any stipulations of exchange whatever. He restored to them their arms and standards, and clothed them in new uniforms of their respective regiments. Such an act of courtesy could not but elicit from the Emperor Paul the warmest acknowledgments. An interchange of courtesies took place between the two courts, which soon led to a friendly alliance, and then to the most absurd extremes by Paul towards his ancient allies. He declared war against Great Britain, because a British squadron had made conquest of the island of Malta, which he said was contrary to the convention of 1798, containing a stipulation that it should be given up to the Knights of the order of Jerusalem, of which he had been declared Grand Master. He immediately laid an embargo on all the British shipping found in his ports, amounting to three hundred vessels with cargoes on board, which had been detained by the frost, in the winter of 1800, rendering the Baltic impracticable for navigation. The whole of the English property was put under sequestration. Furthermore, he confined the commanders of the vessels in prison, and sent the crews a thousand miles into the interior of the country, during the rigours of a northern winter, and amidst much suffering.

Such a violent outrage on the laws of nations, and more particularly in contravention of an existing treaty

between Russia and Great Britain, which expressly stated that no embargo should be laid, but, on the contrary, the merchants of the contracting powers should have one year allowed them to dispose of or convey away their goods, was so flagrant a proof of political immorality, to say the least of it, that immediate steps were taken to meet it by England. She issued letters of marque for the capture of the vessels of all the Northern Powers now in league against her, when most of the Russian shipping then on the ocean was gathered into her harbours. England strengthened her army and navy, and war was declared against Russia.

Paul and Napoleon, in the mean time, were drawing together on the most friendly terms; they were well agreed on assailing the power of England, and, amongst other projects, they determined to overthrow her supremacy in India. The idea was said to have been conceived by Napoleon; but in the gigantic Eastern conquests proposed and partly achieved during the reign of Catherine, this is said to have always formed a part of the policy of the Russian cabinet. Extravagant as these designs were, yet they were deemed practicable by the insane Paul, whom Napoleon himself pronounced to be mad, on seeing the notice in the *St. Petersburgh Gazette*, already alluded to, summoning the Sovereigns of Europe to meet and settle their disputes by combat. The Tzar was so furious in his hatred of England, that whenever dispatches were presented to him from the British government offering terms of conciliation, he would pierce them with a penknife, and return them unopened.

The Emperor was now become the warm admirer of Napoleon. One day when at table, his minister Pahlen,

dining with him, and the glass circulating freely, some dispatches were brought from Buonaparte announcing the successes of the French arms, and his projects for humbling the pride of England; when the Emperor said he would give as a toast, the greatest man in Europe—"Buonaparte, success to him; huzza, Buonaparte!"

But the insanity of the Tzar was now manifested in the most oppressive acts of tyranny amongst his own subjects, and despotism, during this reign, showed the most terrible front. His foreign policy had ruined the commercial interests of the empire, since the war with England had cut it up at the roots. It was contrary to the principle of all the preceding cabinets of St. Petersburgh, which sought by foreign commerce, particularly by that with England, to pioneer the way for European civilisation. Such was the grand scheme of Peter the Great and of Catherine II.; but now the interests of this vast empire were prostrated before the caprices of a sovereign, whose eccentricity of action showed not only that he was without principle, but without reason; and, with that slavish subservience which has marked the conduct of the Russian subjects towards their sovereign, it was quietly submitted to, as emanating, they believed, from divine right. The extravagances of the Emperor were now such, that it was evident to the whole empire he had lost his reason; for he would visit sometimes with punishments the acts which he had encouraged the day before: arrests and exile were ordered continually on the most trifling pretexts. The roads to Siberia were crowded with prisoners, who were not even allowed time to settle their affairs, or even to provide clothing against the rigours of the climate to which they were to be transported; and, so generally did Paul

visit his subjects with his rage, that almost all classes came in for it, including women and children; his paroxysms sometimes took a curious turn, even to romance. Freemasonry had made its way into Russia —that mysterious visitant, which insinuates itself into every community of man. It was thought that it could never live in Russia, under a government so very jealous of all secret societies; but, to the astonishment of every one, Paul took it into immediate favour, and professed himself its patron, so long as the enthusiasm lasted.

He instituted a committee to revise its acts and statutes, with the view to a new organization of them. But this did not last long. He became enamoured of the order of the Knights of Malta, of whom he was formally declared to be the Grand Master; then he suddenly put down the Freemasons as a society dangerous to government. He prohibited their holding any assemblies without his consent, and the presidents of lodges were obliged to conform to this regulation. He soon converted protection into oppression, and the society in Russia became extinct.

It cannot be wondered at that the tyrannies of Paul so disgusted his subjects that they determined to get rid of him. He saw himself universally detested, and the object of general hatred; for which, amidst all his hallucinations, he had sufficient discernment, and became alarmed for his personal safety. He had exiled and disgraced all those whom he suspected of intriguing against him, and he became cruel and inaccessible to pity; his once confiding temper took the turn of a capricious tyranny. Those whom he had loved and trusted, were denounced by him as his greatest enemies. Only two persons shared his confidence, Count Pahlen, his prime

minister, and his Turkish valet, already spoken of; the former had obtained the Emperor's confidence by paying him respectful homage, as heir of the empire, when the Grand Duke visited Riga. This attention Paul had never forgotten, and, on his accession to the throne, he immediately took Pahlen into his confidence, and made him prime minister and governor of St. Petersburgh. A more unscrupulous or astute statesman had scarcely ever existed in Russia. He was of an ancient family, and high in the aristocratic ranks, and cautious, cool, and politic, with a daring courage which nothing could intimidate. Pahlen saw the necessity of opposing a barrier to the extravagances of the Emperor's will, which had become so oppressive that the security of the Empire imperatively required his removal from the government. Nor was it supposed that he contemplated at the time, the bloody tragedy which was so soon to take place with the unfortunate Paul.

Although Pahlen had enjoyed so high a position about the Emperor for nearly four years, yet he had seen the downfall of so many others, that he was better able than any one else to appreciate the fickleness of his favour; nor could he scarcely comprehend why the day of his own fall had not arrived, to anticipate which he determined on that of the Emperor. It was from the interest of Zuboff that he had obtained from Catherine the appointment of civil governor of Riga, and Pahlen now determined to seek his former patron to assist him in the plot. The fall of Zuboff has been already related. He had retired to Germany, where a despatch from Pahlen found him out. Zuboff had complained frequently to Pahlen of his exile, when the latter devised a plan for recalling him to St. Petersburgh, which

was immediately adopted; viz., to ask the Emperor's permission for his return, on the plea that he was to espouse the daughter of Paul's favourite, Kutousoff, who had received a letter from Zuboff asking his daughter in marriage.

The favourite threw himself at the Emperor's feet, supplicating him with the letter in his hand to fill the measure of his fortune, and that of his daughter, by approving of the marriage, and allowing the exile to return, to which Paul consented, and in fifteen days after that time Zuboff returned to St. Petersburgh, and paid his court to the favourite's daughter. The plot was now carried on by Pahlen, and the conspirators engaged in it were numerous; but so cautiously had he set to work, that he dexterously avoided the slightest proof of his being engaged in it—for, on its success or failure, he was prepared to take part either with the conspirators, or with his Imperial master. The conspirators included General Beningsen, a Hanoverian by birth, who, although he had distinguished himself in the Russian service, was yet disgraced by the Emperor without a show of cause for so doing; there were also General Taritzen, Admiral Revies, with two other brothers Zuboff, who were easily brought into the plot by Plato Zuboff, the most determined of all the conspirators, who had determined to dethrone the Emperor, in favour of the Tzarovitch, the Grand Duke Alexander. Pahlen, by the suavity of his manners, had gained over a great many adherents, even those who opposed him in political opinions, and he was a man of probity, which won him universal confidence; his ambition was boundless. He saw himself then prime minister of Russia at the nod of a despot, whose fickle mind might

remove him from power at a moment's notice. Under the Grand Duke Alexander he had every thing to expect, which was, to reign over the empire in his name. He sought to win those courtiers particularly to his views who were in favour with Paul; but, in so doing, he had not only nearly betrayed the whole conspiracy, but comprised his own safety, from a correspondence having been interrupted by the minister for foreign affairs between two of the conspirators—one at Moscow and the other at St. Petersburgh. This was laid before Paul, who immediately summoned the minister.

The Count, so far from betraying that he had any knowledge of the conspiracy to which the correspondence alluded, completely succeeded in persuading his Imperial Majesty that he was ignorant of it; and, furthermore, he succeeded in removing the obnoxious minister, leaving him freer scope to mature his designs for the dethronement of Paul. The Count had now a most difficult part to perform—that of gaining the consent of the Grand Dukes Alexander and Constantine to his plan; their participating in it was absolutely necessary to its being carried out. He took the resolution of conferring with the Tzarovitch, to whom he pointed out that the affairs of the Empire were in a most perilous state both at home and abroad; this he was able to show from the numerous offices which he held, and the correspondence passing through his hands. He stated, that the welfare of the State imperatively required that his father should be removed from the throne; that a great number of conspirators were ready to act, waiting for the Prince's consent, and his promise to assume the sovereign authority.

This communication, it is said, was received by Alex-

ander at first with great disdain. He could not deny the impropriety of his father's conduct, after the proofs shown him by the Count, nor the disastrous consequences which might follow; but he would not consent to deprive him of the sovereign power, whatever evil might result from his father continuing to exercise it. The Count warned him of the dangers which must ensue under such a system of government; but the Prince, firm in his resistance, was quite indignant at Pahlen's proposal of the dethronement of his father, and that he should take upon himself the sovereign authority.

The disorders in the government were now constantly increasing from the insane despotism of the Tzar, of which instances have been mentioned; and, some months after, Pahlen resumed the conversation with the Tzarovitch on the subject of the dethronement of his father, to which he was as strongly averse as before, forbidding that any thing should be attempted which might affect the Emperor's authority. In the mean time the conspiracy had been increasing; more than fifty persons were engaged in it, and were so true to the cause, that not a whisper of it had yet reached the police. Paul, as if intuitively, seemed to know that some plot existed against his person; he imagined that every one who approached him was an assassin; the police of St. Petersburgh was more rigorous in its visits than ever. He even feared his own sons; but the two Princes bore their father's ill-humour with much magnanimity, nor could they be persuaded to conspire against him.

Pahlen now saw that he must work upon their fears, which could only be done by stirring up their father's jealousy against them; and he determined on this treacherous method of exciting Paul against the Grand

Dukes when the proper time arrived. The wily minister, seeing the necessity of engaging the Grand Dukes Alexander and Constantine in the plot, now determined to denounce them to their father, and he sent anonymously to the Emperor a list of the conspirators. The terrified Sovereign immediately summoned him to his presence, when he acknowledged that the list of names was correct, but that all the conspirators were not included in it. On this being told him, Paul, who was pacing his room in great agitation, quickly demanded who were the remaining ones. Pahlen answered, that prudence prevented his saying more than that there were three others, but from respect he could not reveal their august names.

The Emperor started. "I understand," said he, in a hollow tone, "you mean the Empress, the Tzarovitch Alexander, and the Grand Duke Constantine." (It should be noticed that the Emperor's bed-chamber was on the first floor, with a door facing the chimney, and two windows looking upon the court-yard; at the foot of the bed was a private door which led to the Empress' room, and further on was a trapdoor, known only to the Emperor, so contrived in the floor, that, by pressing upon a spring with the heel of the boot, it opened upon a flight of stairs that led to a corridor, by which any one could leave the palace.)

Paul cast a glance towards the door which led to the private apartments of the Empress, and said, "Pahlen you will at once arrest the two Grand Dukes, and I will dispose of the Empress myself; as to the other conspirators, that is your business." Pahlen bowed and said, "Give me, Sire, your written orders, and I will obey." The Emperor replied, "Watch over me, Pahlen; thou art the

only faithful servant left me: I see plainly that all desire my death, and that I can depend only on thee." Paul then signed the order for the arrest of the Grand Dukes, and handed it to Pahlen, who immediately retired.

Pahlen, armed with this order, immediately presented himself before the Grand Duke Alexander, whom he found in great distress, having been ordered to withdraw by his father when he went to pay him his customary respects, and he knew nothing of the cause of this treatment. From Pahlen he expected to be informed, and impatiently inquired if the Emperor had left any orders respecting him; to which the wily minister replied, unmoved by the filial distress of the young prince, "Yes, your Highness, I am sorry to say that I have his Imperial Majesty's order to place you under arrest, and from this moment you are my prisoner."

The Prince was much moved both with grief and indignation, and inquired, "But what crime have I committed?" to which the minister replied, "'Your Imperial Highness is of course aware, that at the court of St. Petersburgh punishment often precedes crime;" and then, to satisfy the still incredulous Prince, he produced the order, when Alexander, with the dignity of innocence, and the reverence of a good son and subject, immediately submitted to it. Pahlen then informed him that the Emperor had told his master of the horse, that he meant to imprison the Tzarovitch in the fortress of Schlusselburgh, his brother Constantine in the fortress of St. Petersburgh, and even the Empress at Kalmazou, and that he intended to appoint Nicholas for his successor. Pahlen then threw himself at the feet of the agonized Prince and said, "It is time to put a stop to these terrible misfortunes—it is necessary to restrain the effects of your

father's malady; to speak the truth, your father is mad!"

"Count Pahlen," exclaimed the Prince, "you calumniate my father!"

"Well, my Prince, he must abdicate in your favour; the whole body of the nation require it, and they have chosen me to utter the public voice." Alexander then regarding him with great dignity, "But my father still lives, how can I tear the sceptre from his hands?" and he repelled the thought with great indignation. Pahlen again showed him the order, and implored him to save the lives not only of his brother and of the Empress, but even of his father's also, saying that "the reign of Paul is ended, and, if you refuse to sanction his abdication, you may be compelled to pardon his assassination." After a long interview, Pahlen so worked on the fears of the Tzarovitch, as to produce a reluctant consent to the dethronement of his father. "Swear to me," said he, "that, should my father make any resistance, you will preserve his life, even at the expense of your own;" but the wily Count evaded it, saying, "That it required time to consider the oath," when, having placed the sentinels at the Grand Duke's door, he bowed and retired.

The grand conspirator was now armed both against the father and the son, and had to play his game accordingly. In the mean time, the plot had been going on amongst the conspirators, which was conducted with much secresy, and some of them had resolved that Paul should die.

The plot had now become known to many who were desirous to save the Tzar from the perils of the conspiracy; amongst others was Prince Mecherki, who had

written a letter to reveal the whole of it, and the names of the conspirators, which was addressed to Kutousoff, the Emperor's favourite, who was on horseback accompanying Paul when the letter was put into his hands by a peasant. Kutousoff, thinking it of no importance, put the letter into his pocket, and, having changed his dress for dinner, it was entirely forgotten, and its contents were never communicated to the Emperor. Another instance is related of a letter relative to the plot being presented to Paul whilst he was at supper, when, supposing it to be on public business, he said that he would read it the next day. In the mean time, the conspiracy had been revealed to the Emperor by the Attorney-general, who clearly implicated Pahlen in the treasonable design; when immediately a courier was dispatched to Araktchoff, the former governor of St. Petersburgh, some forty versts distance, who commanded some troops, and on whom the Emperor could rely, requiring his immediate presence, saying that Pahlen had betrayed him, and all would be lost if he deferred his march for a moment.

The Count, through the vigilance of his agents, was informed of what was going on. He at once arrested the courier, and saw by the dispatches the peril in which he was placed. He then convened the conspirators at the house of General Taritzen, where he addressed them in a few energetic words, showing the dispatch which he had intercepted, and impressing upon them the necessity of immediate action; or all would be lost; and they fixed on the following day for the accomplishment of their purpose. On the 23rd March, at eight o'clock in the evening, Pahlen again met the conspirators in the same place, when he proposed to increase

their number by thirty or forty military officers, lately consigned to the prisons by the despotic orders of Paul, who he knew would enter warmly into any plot against him, and he set off to bring them to the "rendez-vous." As military governor of St. Petersburgh, the prisons were all under his orders. The doors were consequently opened wherever he presented himself, and the astonished prisoners were ordered into the sledges; his only orders to them were; "Follow me, and arm yourselves," they not knowing what was coming to pass, whether death or exile awaited them.

Amongst the sixty regicides then assembled, was General Beningsen, the chief in command, Count Plato Zuboff and his two brothers, Nicholas and Valerian; there were likewise Generals Taritzen, Gavdanan, Scriatin, Warenskoi, and Prince Tataville, who soon explained to the new arrivals the services required of them, which they readily accepted; not one refused to take part in the dreadful tragedy preparing for the palace, and, amidst the shouts of "Long live Alexander!" they desired to be led on.

The Emperor had passed the evening with his mistress, the Princess Gagarin, who, seeing him pale and more gloomy than usual, inquired what was the matter with him; to which he replied, "The time for striking my great blow is arrived; in a few days, heads will be seen to fall that are very dear to us." The Princess, alarmed at this menace, which seemed threatened against some member of the Imperial family, as soon as the Emperor retired, sent a note to the Grand Duke Alexander, in which she informed him that his life was in danger. The Grand Duke on receiving the note was in extreme anxiety. The officer on duty, under whom

he was put in arrest, was ordered not to permit the Tzarovitch going out, but he allowed the messenger to enter. The Prince was aware that the Princess Gagarin was well acquainted with his father's secrets, which consequently redoubled his anxiety. The Emperor retired to his apartment, which was next to that of the Empress, about eleven o'clock; whilst the Grand Dukes and Duchesses, and the rest of the Imperial family, were lodged at distances in apartments above the story which he occupied. A faithful hussar, whom the Emperor had honoured with his particular confidence, slept at night in the antechamber at his Sovereign's bedroom door. A strong body of sentinels was posted round the ramparts. The password was known only to the captain of the guard, and every vigilance was exercised as if in the citadel of a fortified town. Silence now reigned in the palace, disturbed only by the passing of the sentinels, or by the distant murmurs of the Neva, and only a few straggling lights were to be seen, irregularly gleaming through the windows of the building.

In the dead of the night, a detachment of sixty men was marched through the summer gardens, which so disturbed the rooks, that this incident had wellnigh frustrated the whole scheme. The detachment was commanded by General Beningsen. They passed the drawbridge, where Valerian Zuboff was in command. The officer who had the previous command for the night, had been changed to favour the conspirators. In the court of the palace they divided into bands, when Pahlen made his appearance by the private door where the minister enters who has official access to his Sovereign. Two of the bands, headed by Beningsen and Zuboff ascended the grand staircase, to which they were

directed by Arkamakow, the Emperor's aide-de-camp; whilst Pahlen had, when relieving the guard, filled the posts, not with privates, but with the officers engaged in the conspiracy.

When the conspirators reached the door of the antechamber leading to the Emperor's apartment, Arkamakow knocked, and was challenged by the hussar, to whom he said he was come to make a report to the Emperor, when the conspirators threw themselves sword in hand into the room; but the faithful hussar, guessing their design, opposed their further entrance, and ordered them to retire. Zuboff endeavoured to put him aside, when a pistol was discharged, and the man was disarmed.

The noise alarmed the Emperor, who sprang from his couch, and rushed towards the concealed door which led to the apartment of the Empress, but it had by his orders been secured from the time that he entertained suspicions against her Majesty. Foiled in this, he sprang towards the trapdoor of the secret staircase, which opened with a spring by the pressure of a boot-heel only; but with his naked foot he could not succeed in forcing it open, and he concealed himself behind a screen just as the door was opened by Zuboff and Beningsen, which had offered them some resistance from within. Zuboff rushed to his bed. "At last," said he, "the Emperor has escaped." "No," said Beningsen; "I see him." They then approached him, and said—"Sire, you are our prisoner." One of them went to call in the other conspirators, who all rushed into the room, when Count Zuboff said—"Sire, your life is at stake. You must submit to sign this act of abdication."

"Who are you?" replied the Emperor, whom the

dim light of the lamp had prevented from recognizing the speaker. "Whoever we are," said Zuboff, "we are sent to you by the Senate. Take this paper." And he held the act of abdication before him. "Now, decide thy own fate." And he brought the lamp to that part of the room where the Emperor remained, that he might read the paper offered to him. Paul took it, and began looking it over. He then raised his head, and, looking at the conspirators, exclaimed—"Great God! what have I done, that you should treat me thus?"

"You have tyrannized over us for four years!" exclaimed a voice. The Emperor once more perused the paper, when his courage returned, and he told the conspirators that they were his prisoners, and required them to surrender. He reproached them as traitors, with their ingratitude for the favours which he had bestowed upon them, particularly Zuboff, who replied, "You are no longer Emperor," and required him to surrender in the name of the Emperor Alexander; when Paul tore the paper, and trampled it under his feet, saying, "Never, never! rather death;" and he made a movement towards a sofa on which his sword lay, with which to defend himself. He then became outrageous; and some of the conspirators were dismayed at his boldness; when Beningsen cried out, that if Paul escaped it was all over with them. Finding that they fixed their eyes fiercely and steadily upon him, and continued to advance, he implored them to spare his life, and declared his willingness to resign his sceptre, and to accept any terms which they might dictate. He even offered to make them princes, and to confer upon them orders and estates. But they, regardless alike of his threats and of his promises, began to press upon him; when he made a

convulsive effort to reach the window, in order to effect his escape, but he failed in the attempt. The height from it to the ground was so great, that it would probably have put a more speedy termination to his existence. As the conspirators drew him back, he grasped a chair, with which he knocked down one of the assailants; when a desperate conflict took place, and amongst those who distinguished themselves with a determination to revenge, was Tataville, who flung himself upon the Emperor. This sudden movement overturned the lamp, whose feeble rays had before but dimly lighted the dreadful scene of a naked man struggling for his life with an armed band of assassins. Beningsen soon returned with the light; the struggle was renewed, when Paul fell, and uttered a sharp cry of pain, for his head had been struck against an angle of the room, and received a dreadful wound. With great exertion he freed himself once more from his murderers; when Prince Warenskoi threw himself upon the Emperor, who had regained his feet.

Paul fell a second time; and in stifled groans addressed the assassins once more. "Gentlemen, spare me; leave me at least time to pray, to——" when the sound of the last word was lost; and Beningsen said—"We have passed the Rubicon. If we spare his life, we shall die before the setting of to-morrow's sun, and become his victims." Then Nicholas Zuboff took off his sash, tied it twice round the Emperor's neck, and giving one end to another conspirator, they drew it tightly, and, after a few convulsive struggles, the spirit of the murdered Emperor had passed away, "with all his imperfections on his head."

"Who lived in terror, and in pangs expired."

The Empress had heard the stifled groans of her husband, and in an agony with terror was hastening to enter the apartment. The conspirators recognized her voice, and were much alarmed, but were soon reassured when they remembered that the door had by Paul's order been closed against her.

At that moment of deep silence which invariably follows crime, the grand conspirator, Pahlen, entered, sword in hand. He had kept himself aloof at the head of a regiment of guards, ready to act for or against the Emperor, as circumstances might require, until the tragedy was over, and the game won. At the sight of his murdered sovereign he turned very pale, the first time that he had shown any manifestation of feeling. Whilst Beningsen was covering the corpse with the bedclothes, the Count leaned against the wall, and so supported himself with his weapon lowered; but this feeling was not participated in by the other conspirators. Beningsen, in particular, preserved the greatest firmness through the night, and now said to his companions, "Come, gentlemen, it is time for us to pay our homage to the Emperor Alexander."

The Grand Duke had been informed by Pahlen, that they were that night to endeavour to procure the Emperor's abdication in his favour; therefore he remained shut up in his apartment, waiting the result of the conspiracy. Count Valerian Zuboff was deputed by Pahlen to inform him of the catastrophe, but he had not yet the courage to present himself before the Prince; the Count found him lying on a sofa, and when he first told him of the dethronement, and then of the death of his father, he was overwhelmed with the most profound affliction, saying, "I am the most unfortunate man in the world;

they will say I am the assassin of my father; they promised me not to touch his life!" and he was inconsolable. Pahlen had by this time entered the room, to whom he said, "Oh, Pahlen! what a page for the beginning of my history; they will call me the assassin of my father!" and he loaded him with reproaches, then, losing all self-command he sank into a chair, covered his face with his hands, and wept violently.

The minister endeavoured to console him, saying that he must think of something else, and that his time ought now to be differently employed. "Oh! what can I think of but my unfortunate father?" replied the Prince; he again loaded him with reproaches, and for a long time his grief overwhelmed him. In the meanwhile, Count Zuboff had brought the Grand Duke Constantine into the apartment to condole with his brother, whom he found overwhelmed, and incapable of action.

Pahlen then endeavoured to arouse him by saying—"Sire, you have wept long enough for a son, now rise up and reign." "What will become of my mother?" the Prince exclaimed. "I will go to her," said the Count; but the noise having alarmed the Empress, she was hastening from her apartments towards that of the Emperor, when she was met in the saloon which intervened by Petroski, a lieutenant of the Guards, at the head of thirty men, who opposed her entrance. "Do you not know me, said the Empress?" "Pardon me," said the lieutenant, "I know that I have the honour to speak to the Empress, but my colonel has forbidden me to allow your Majesty to enter," and the men barred her passage with their muskets; she then advanced with firmness and dignity, and it is said that she struck the officer, and sank into a chair in a fainting fit. The

Grand Duchesses Maria and Catherine, awakened by the unusual noise and confusion in the palace, followed the steps of their mother, and knelt down at each side of her chair, as if seeking her protection. The Empress asked for water, which a soldier immediately brought; when she again nearly fainted.

General Beningsen, who was in charge of the palace, was soon at hand, and he informed the Empress that Alexander had commenced his reign, at which she exclaimed, "And who made him Emperor?" "The Guards, Madame," said the General. She then began to talk of her own rights, asserting that, by virtue of her coronation, she was the reigning Empress; but she soon gave way to her maternal feelings, and requested to be led to her son. Their interview was very affecting, in the midst of the many conspirators that surrounded them; and in their presence she acknowledged Alexander as Autocrat of all the Russias. Pahlen now came forward, and said to the new Emperor—"Follow me, sire; the least delay may be productive of the most dangerous consequences." "Do with me what you will," said Alexander, his face still bathed in tears, when he was placed in a carriage. Pahlen and Zuboff mounted behind, and they went towards the Winter Palace. Beningsen remained near the Empress, for Alexander's last request was relative to his mother.

On the Admiralty-square the principal regiments of Guards were assembled, to whom the young Sovereign was presented by Pahlen, and he was greeted with the warmest acclamations; in the enthusiasm of the soldiers they rushed to the door of the carriage, and drew Alexander forth, pale and dejected, to swear fidelity to him. "The Emperor! the Emperor!" resounded through the

ranks; "Long life to the new Emperor!" which proved that the conspiracy was popular with the soldiers, although it was consummated by crime. By seven o'clock in the morning, the intelligence of the death of Paul and the accession of Alexander was known throughout the capital; by eight o'clock the principal nobility had paid their homage to the new Sovereign and the Grand Officers of State were assembled at the Palace, where Alexander the First was solemnly proclaimed "Emperor of all the Russias." His Majesty presented himself at the parade on horseback, and was hailed by the troops with loud acclamations; the conspirators returned from the palace without the least molestation to their own homes, and from that time every thing went on as if the Emperor Paul had died a natural death.

It should have been observed, that as soon as the dreadful occurrence was discovered, medical attendance was rendered, but in vain, to restore suspended animation. Great pains were taken to conceal the manner in which the Emperor received his death. The chief physician pronounced the cause to be apoplexy, and the deep wound in the face was attributed by him to the fall; the *Gazette* announced that the Emperor's death was occasioned by a fit of apoplexy.

The body was embalmed, and lay in state for a fortnight. Etiquette required the Emperor Alexander to visit it daily; and it was observed that he always retired from it in tears. At the end of that time it was interred with regal honours in the church of St. Peter and Paul, Alexander having the painful duty to perform of attending as chief mourner.

The palace of St. Michael was never more occupied

by the Imperial family; but was immediately closed. The rooms where Paul was murdered, are sealed and walled up. They may be recognized without, by their dark and dirty windows. The splendid halls, with marble stone staircase, are now converted into a school of engineers, or the "Hotel de Genies," for the education of engineer officers. The "Elèves" principally belong to the class of nobility, but children of officers and of people employed by the government are admitted. Its heavy and gloomy appearance gives it the appearance of a castle of the middle ages, the massive building being of granite, formerly surrounded with walls and ditches, and bristling with cannon; but the ditches are now partly filled up, and laid out in gardens. The princpal entrance is still over the narrow draw bridge. Five thousand men were employed in the building of this castle, at a cost of 18,000,000 roubles.

Thus perished the unfortunate Paul, on the 24th March, 1801, in the fifth year of his reign, and the forty-eighth of his age. He bore no resemblance personally to Peter III., by whom he was disowned, and he was detested by his mother, by whom he was banished from court, ridiculed by her favourites and courtiers, and doomed to lead a life of solitude, where his austere and disgusting manners alienated every one from him, even his own children, until he became generally detested and dreaded as a scourge to Russia; yet his character may be deemed to be more the result of education than of natural depravity, for we have seen that he was capable of magnanimity and greatness of soul when opportunities called them forth, and traces of humanity often appear in his character. He left four

sons and five daughters of the Imperial family. The pensions which he bestowed on the unfortunate, the hospitals which he founded for his soldiers, the provisions which he distributed amongst the poor officers, and other acts of benevolence and justice, attest that he deserves the character rather of a capricious than a bad man. He showed some capacity for government, with occasionally good judgment, but without any principle of action. His caprices were holding him in perpetual contradiction; they resulted in such arrogance and cruelty, as to stamp him for the greatest despot of modern times, and certainly to warrant the conclusion of his insanity. The compass of his mind was but small, which is proved by the frivolities which occupied him, of powder and pomatum, or a round hat. It was not so much the efficiency of his troops, as their appearance, which constituted their value in the sight of Paul; and even the latter may be presumed to be in bad taste, seeking to engraft curls and tails upon the commonly called candle-locks of the Russian peasant.

His activity was great, but it plunged him into a whirlpool of turbulence, in which he not only floundered himself, but involved those around him; for what he commanded one day, he would punish for the next. His zeal for military reform nearly produced amongst the troops a revolution, and from his attempt at financial retrenchments he went suddenly to financial profligacy; so that, when we trace this versatile Emperor, either in public or private life, not one atom of consistency can be found in him. No one could know Paul, for he never knew himself: hence all his qualities, good and bad, ran to waste—the latter spread desolation around him, whilst

the former were but small sun spots, soon choked with weeds. His person has been already described as of stunted growth, and below the middle height. His countenance partook of the Tartar caste, somewhat ferocious and brutal, and so was it considered by some of his subjects, since they would flee before him. His expected arrival in the streets of the capital would inspire them with terror. His removal from the government may be deemed a great boon to his country, although nothing can warrant the barbarous manner of such removal. Russia was relieved of an intolerable burden by the act of regicides; but, however intolerable it might have been, it could not sanction the bloody deed, which will go down to posterity as a blot upon her annals. We have but few similar instances in ancient or modern history; his end shows the insecurity of sovereigns who govern rather through the fears than through the affections of their subjects.

We conclude our history of the Emperor Paul, with an account given by a stranger (Kotzebue), resident then at St. Petersburgh, who witnessed the extravagant joy and transport which the death of the Emperor occasioned amongst his subjects. Speaking of his residence in the capital he says—"I partook of the alarm and the uncertainties of almost all the inhabitants of St. Petersburgh. Wretches, abusing the confidence of the monarch, alarmed him with those phantoms which never existed, and in which they did not themselves believe. In the evening I lay down with the most gloomy presentiments. At night I trembled at the noise of any carriage which stopped in the neighbourhood of my residence, and I shook at the least movement that I heard in the street.

"I awoke, tormented with fresh uneasiness to avoid the danger which threatened me during the day. I went out in continual fear of meeting the Emperor in the streets, lest I may not alight quickly enough from my carriage. I surveyed with extraordinary care every part of my dress, and the manner of putting it on. I was obliged to render homage to women of bad reputation, and to men of limited minds; as well as to endure the insolent pride of ignorant ballet-masters, at the representation of each new piece. I feared the police, always vigilant on secret expeditions, might come to discover some involuntary crime. Whenever my wife went out with her children, and they delayed some minutes beyond the appointed time, I trembled to learn that, not having alighted quick enough from her carriage on meeting the Emperor, she had been dragged to prison by the police, similar to Madame Demeth (already related). I could rarely commit my uneasiness to the breast of any friend, since the walls had ears, and brother could not confide in brother; nor could any book divert me in these deplorable days, for all books were prohibited. I must renounce my pen, and I dared not reveal even to myself, since my portfolio might be visited every moment. To take a drive for my affairs was fatal to my health, if they led me towards the palace; even in the most rigorous weather it was not permitted to approach this mass of stone otherwise than bareheaded. The most innocent walk offered no recreation; for every day were to be seen wretched victims, whom they were conducting perhaps to the knout."

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